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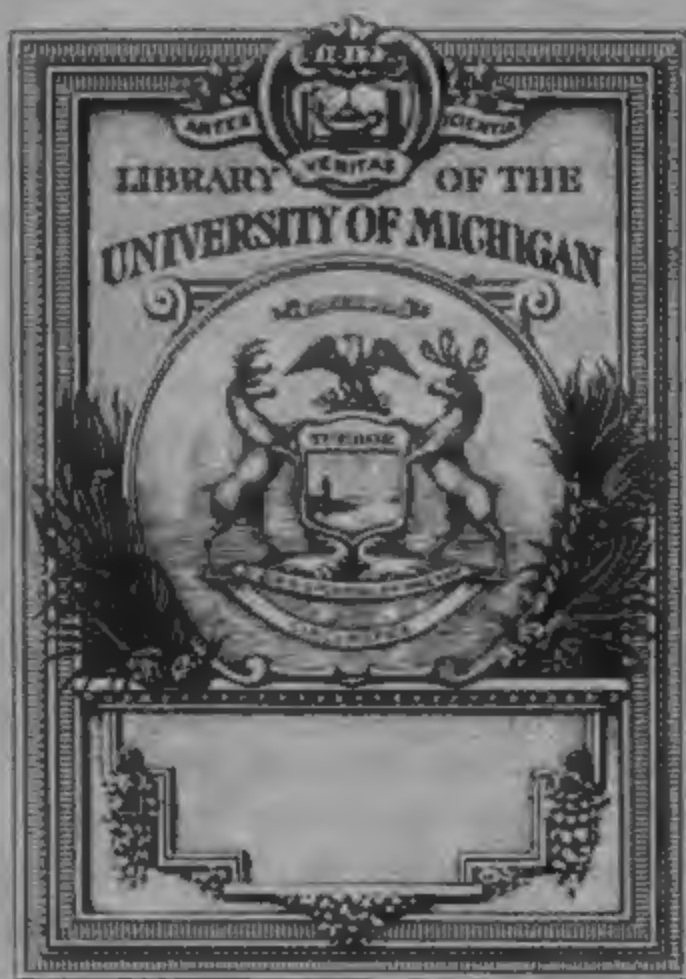
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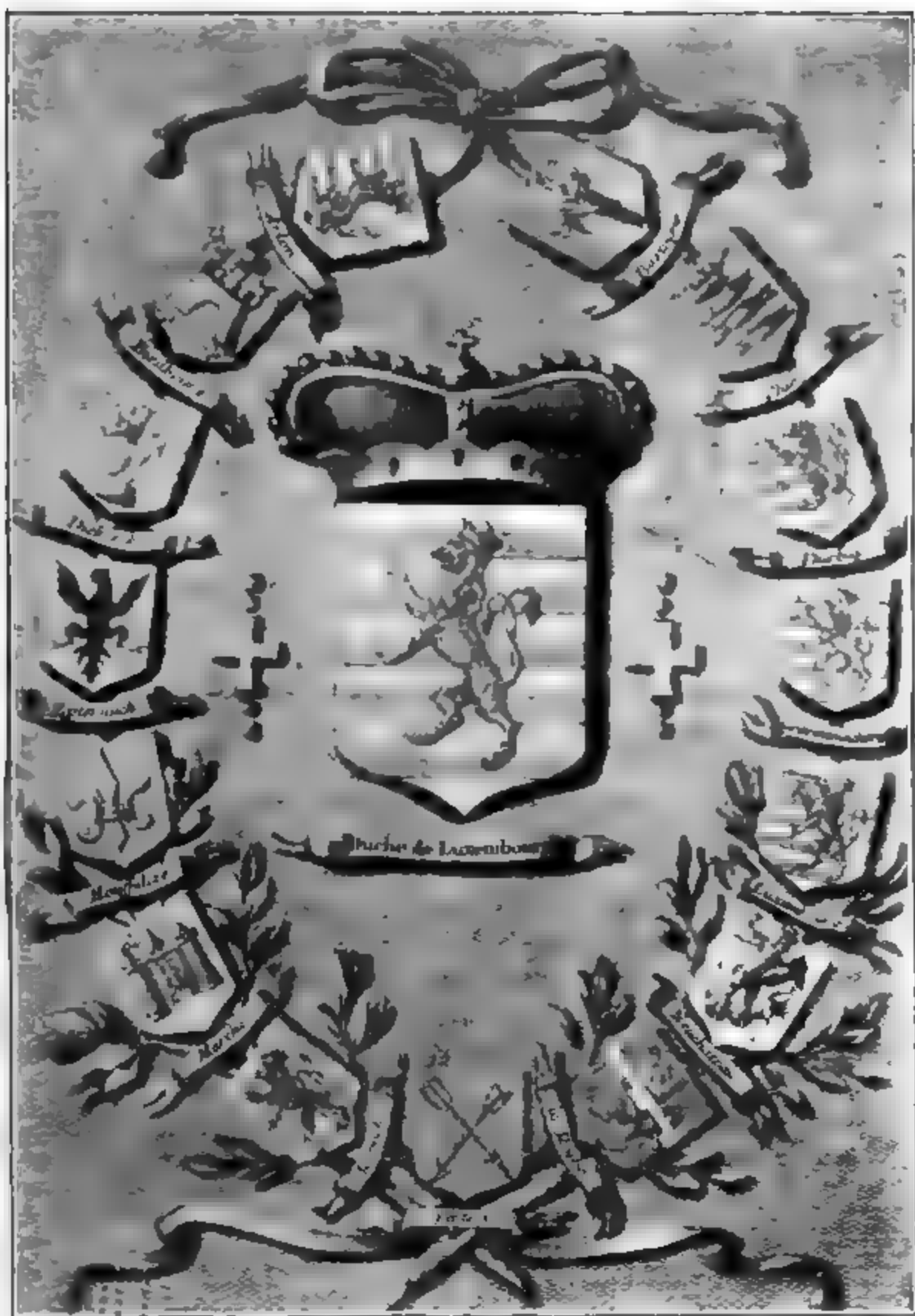
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By Ruth Putnam

- I.—Charles the Bold, Last Duke of Burgundy**
- II.—William the Silent, Prince of Orange**
- III.—William the Silent, and the Revolt of the
Netherlands**
- IV.—A Mediæval Princess**
- V.—Alsace and Lorraine**



THE ARMS OF THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG, AND OF FIFTEEN CITIES.

From Bertholet's *Histoire du Duché de Luxembourg*.

Luxemburg and Her Neighbours

**A record of the political fortunes of the present
Grand Duchy from the eve of the French
Revolution to the Great War, with a
preliminary sketch of events from
963 to 1780**

By

Ruth Putnam

Author of "William the Silent," "Charles the Bold," etc.

With Maps and Illustrations

**G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press
1918**

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RUTH PUTNAM

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

THE LAND OF THE STORY

The territory of the present Luxemburg covers a picturesque area of mountainous forest land, lying on the heights that separate the basin of the Meuse from that of the Moselle. On the north and east is the German empire,—Rhenish Prussia. On the south lies German territory, too, the Lorraine part of Alsace-Lorraine. South-west is a tiny stretch of France. West lies Belgium, its adjacent province being a former intrinsic portion of Luxemburg itself. These heights are part of the high plateau of the Ardennes, a plateau that extends into Belgium and into France. The greatest length of the Grand Duchy is fifty-five, its greatest breadth is thirty-four miles, the whole area covering 999 square miles. Politically, the connection of the land with the outside world has been as various as the course of its streams which flow in all directions down the deflected water-shed.

It was essentially a border land between Teutonic, Gallic, and Belgic peoples before sections of its territory were lopped off, and a border land it still is.

FOREWORD

FOR many centuries, the sovereign of Luxemburg was a Burgundian, an Austrian, or a Spaniard whose main interests were far afield from the little Duchy. The modern story has been interwoven with the course of the French Revolution, with the theory of the balance of power, the needs of Germany, and the make-up of the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. Thus a large area had to be covered in order to bring together this meagre outline of Luxemburg's life history, and I was constantly confronted with problems involving technical knowledge in law, in diplomacy, and in periodical literature of the last century and of today. I have been peculiarly fortunate in receiving generous aid from many specialists to whom infinite gratitude is due for answers to puzzling questions whose solution often has only served as an unseen background to the narrative. Those who haunt the libraries of New York, Boston, Cambridge, and Washington know how much generous unsigned work goes into every new book that emerges from our store-houses of printed knowledge. Departmental experts are not akin to the type of jealous custodian who

cared more for the preservation of the volume than for the desires of the would-be reader. In all the several realms of library lore, cartographical, legal, and bibliographical, the student and the public find sympathetic and unstinting assistance at their service.

In addition to librarians, there are others who have been kindly helpful and to them, too, I would express my warm appreciation of their courtesy, while I would hesitate to let their names be linked with the shortcomings of this little book. It was not written within the sphere of Luxemburg itself. The only substitute for the flavour of original documents examined on the spot is the memory of a month's walking trip across provincial and grand ducal Luxemburg, from Dinant on the Meuse to Treves on the Moselle, with pauses at St. Hubert and Luxemburg as well as at many other places. The charm of the whole Ardennes region is too potent to lose its spell. It is strong enough to put life into secondary and printed sources, even though years have passed since the forest air was breathed.

As the Luxemburg of history is essentially a bi-lingual land, it has been difficult to attain consistency in the names. Both French and German forms are in constant use. Where an English form is endorsed by good authority, that has been the one adopted, even though it seems to undergo a strange sea change to eyes accustomed

to the word in its French dress. Both *Treves* and *Cologne* are alien to the actual appellations in the places themselves, but that vagary pervades the geography of Europe, and it did not seem possible to avoid some disadvantage.

There are other usages, too, open to criticism. *Holland* has been frequently applied to the modern kingdom, although, officially, there is no such realm, *Netherlands* being the proper designation, even in English, as *Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* in Dutch. The ancient Latin term for the seventeen provinces was *Belgica*, now applied in all its forms, French, German, and English, to Belgium alone, while the once equally comprehensive term, *Pays-Bas* or *Niederlande* is now confined to the unit made out of the seven northern provinces. Usage here has been very capricious.

R. P.

WASHINGTON,
July 4, 1918.

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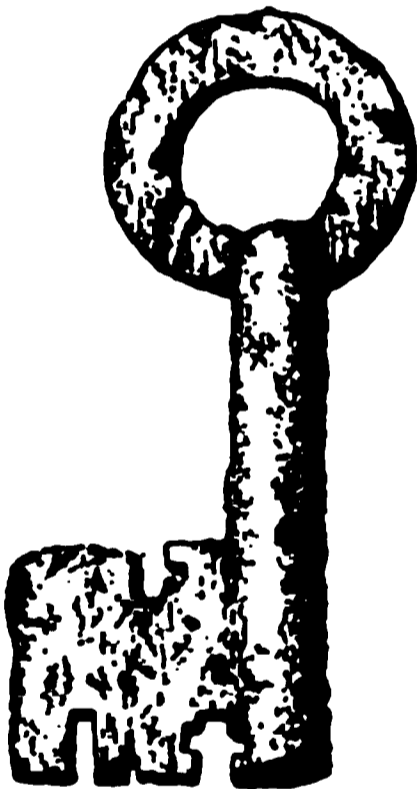
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At the End.

Showing frontier changes at successive periods.



Luxemburg

PROLOGUE

A NEUTRALIZED LAND IN 1914

ON a morning in August, 1914, the world—long unused to the arbitrary acts of warfare—was startled to read in the papers that German troops had entered the neutralized Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. Later, a few scanty, unreliable details drifted across the sea. There was the report that the young sovereign had hastened in an automobile towards her accessible frontier, and burst into tears as she reproached the German officer, commanding the advance guard, for the attack on her guaranteed rights and privileges. However her protests were made, this much seemed certain,—they were ignored. Then, some weeks later, it was rumoured that the sovereign had become reconciled to the invaders or had made a virtue of necessity, but, at least, had acted as a gracious hostess to her august kinsman when he came in person to her capital from Berlin.

Between the legend of the Grand Duchess, barring her own gates to German progress and the story of her hospitality to the Kaiser, a score of reports about Luxemburg's fate and sentiments buzzed through the press. In November, 1915, an account of the actual happenings of those surprising days as seen by an eye-witness was published. The writer, M. le Comte Jehay van der Steen, was Belgium's minister to the Court of Luxemburg in 1914.¹ After the outbreak of the war, his presence was "tolerated" in the capital of this neutral state a few days longer than that of the French diplomat. His narrative is prefaced by the observation that the current newspaper rumours gave a very false idea of the mentality of the little people thus suddenly seized about the neck by a Teutonic embrace. It was true that, in the summer of 1914, the Luxemburgers were very slow to realize that the storm, brewing in the East, might come their way. During July, little apprehension was felt. The trouble was so far from the tiny neutral territory! M. Eyschen, Minister of State, President of the Government, taking the baths at Évian, did not feel anxious until July 29th. That night, he left his cure unfinished and hastened home. People were beginning to lay in stores as provision in case they were cut off from the outer world by their warring neighbours; strangers were hastening to leave Luxemburg. On the morning of July 31st, the

alarming tidings spread through the city that the Moselle bridges were barricaded on the east. On the following morning, German troops were on the soil of the Grand Duchy, the soil whose inviolability had been as solemnly pledged as that of Belgium. The reasons for their action were perfectly satisfactory to all people across the Rhine even if they acknowledged that the incursion was "a regrettable incident." It was a simple matter of necessity.

Later, more was to be learned from the official report of the Luxemburg Government and from the French *Yellow Book*.²

On August 3rd, the Chamber of Deputies was convened in extra session. M. Eyschen, President of the Government, and Minister of State, deputed by the Grand Duchess to open and close the session, took pains to begin by saying that the extra session was not called on account of the latest events. As far back as the preceding Thursday, July 30th, it had been resolved to convene the Chamber, recently elected, so that the new members could be organized and bear their share of affairs "in difficult moments." M. Eyschen begs them to remember that *les véritables pouvoirs souverains* were lodged in them and it was their province to act. His words give an impression that he does not find responsibility any too agreeable and desires, under the "exceptional gravity of the circumstances," to share it

with others. He begs them to keep cool as an example to the people and then he continues:

“I must first tell you what the Government has done during the two or three last days. Then I will describe the present situation. On Friday, July 31st, we were all occupied with the question of provisions in Luxemburg. You know that the countries that surround us have closed the frontiers against any importations into the Grand Duchy. To avoid having the land deprived of food, we took certain measures. We turned right and left begging that an exception might be made in favour of Luxemburg, but we did not succeed. Belgium replied that she could do nothing more for Luxemburg, although the port of Antwerp is the one that supplied us. In Germany we made an analogous demand and there, in the last days, we obtained a little concession: provisions may be introduced from the port of Antwerp and from Holland, and purchases can, I believe, still be made in the ports of Holland.

“I made an appeal to the German authorities to intervene in favour of the Luxemburgers who have crops still standing on the German banks of the Moselle and the Sure (*qui ont encore des récoltes sur pied sur les rives allemandes de la Moselle*). The reply was that these could not be taken from Germany; but the President of Treves telegraphed that the Food Administration would buy all crops belonging to Luxemburgers at their market value.

Such are the facts. I was bound to publish them because they interest a portion of our population."

M. Eyschen then proceeds with his narration. When he heard that the bridges on the Moselle and the Sûre were barred, he thought it was time to demand a declaration from both neighbours that the neutrality of Luxemburg was to be respected. M. von Buch and M. Mollard, ministers for Germany and France, resident at Luxemburg, had been asked for an assurance, such as had been given in 1870, but neither had answered. His only information came from the Agence Havas that France would not infringe neutrality unless the foe did so. "A little incident" at the station of Trois Vierges on the German frontier was disquieting. Two lieutenants with troops took over the telegraph and tore up the rails on the Luxemburg side for a distance of 150 metres. Telegrams were sent to Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg and to von Jagow, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Prussian officers and soldiers today occupied the station Ulflingen (Trois Vierges) and have torn up the rails on our territory. They belong, apparently, to the 69th Treves regiment. I can only infer that this is a mistake, and await apologies. I must, however, so much the more urgently repeat my request to the Foreign Office, already made to the German Minister here present, that the Imperial Government should declare, as in the year 1870, that they will respect the neu-

trality of Luxemburg, so long as this is not broken by any other Power."

Telegram after telegram remained unanswered, to the President's continually increasing anxiety. M. Eyschen continues his narrative of how events were precipitated and how the German soldiers entered Luxemburg by train. "We awaited them at the station at 5 A.M. After rebutting the accusation of having violated our neutrality, we immediately published a proclamation which appeared at 10 A.M. We advised our fellow-citizens to preserve their *sang-froid*.

"On the arrival of the first train we presented a protest for which we demanded a receipt. But I thought it also necessary to send another protest to Berlin, to the two authorities already mentioned, and I expressly asked for an explanation, because I told myself that there must be an error. I could not admit that an offensive act towards Luxemburg had been decreed by Germany, when we were in full peace and when no act had passed in Luxemburg which justified the proceedings."

The address goes on to tell how the Grand Duchess had added her personal appeals to her minister's official telegrams, appeals for the protection of the land and plain denials of the alleged overt acts, while all the interested Powers had been duly notified.

"That same day before receiving answers certain explanations were given. In the morning,

the commander of the first troops presented himself in my cabinet and told me—he had telegraphed first that he was charged with occupying Luxemburg and later he appeared—and told me that they supposed that in Luxemburg there existed a *veritable* danger for Germany as a consequence of the acts of war that France had assumed or meant to assume. We knew no details but later we learned certain confirmatory items, and it is this that is important. The Chancellor's telegram ran as follows:

“ ‘Our military measures in Luxemburg indicate no hostile action towards Luxemburg, but simple measures of protection for the railroads in our management to prevent an attack of the French.’

“This was sent to M. von Buch. A despatch from M. von Jagow to me was more explicit. In this despatch the Imperial Government offered to make full compensation for any injury inflicted on Luxemburg.”

M. von Eyschen then enlarges on the fact that their land is not occupied as an act of war. “There is an occupation in fact, certainly, but Luxemburg rights have, up to the present, suffered no modification nor alteration in law. This is an extremely important fact and I desire to emphasize it.”

In describing the further proceedings, M. Eyschen states that the really astonishing point is the assertion emanating from Germany that there was

a menace to them from Luxemburg. "The whole population is surprised and has asked where the foe was. In Germany there was a conviction that a battle would take place in Luxemburg and they have talked about it everywhere."

The explanation of this is that a proclamation had been printed in Coblenz in which the following phrase occurred, after the opening declaration that every effort of the Kaiser to keep peace had failed: "Since France, disregarding Luxemburg's neutrality, has opened hostilities from the Luxemburg side against German troops, His Majesty, under the bitter force of iron necessity, has commanded that German troops in the first line of the 8th army corps should enter Luxemburg.

"I only want to say—and I believe this to be the truth—that it had been decided not to distribute this in our land [the chauffeur gave out a few copies]. But the document exists and it shows what has been their thought. There it is and—all the land can bear witness—it is a plain error. France had already violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, on our territory, hostilities had already commenced, and not a person among us had seen or heard a thing! Nevertheless this is stated in an official document!"

In commenting upon the remainder of the proclamation, the President remarks that there are a few points that give satisfaction. The passage of troops was only to be transitory, the people

were not to be injured, etc. It seemed rather cold comfort! After answering a query as to whether the text were in both French and German, M. Eyschen went on: "Since I have had this document in my possession, I told myself that there was a mistake from the beginning, and this regrettable error is confirmed in this important document. *If the German Government had not had false news on the situation of the Grand Duchy, they would not have invaded Luxemburg.* It is the general of a grand army who made these assertions to the Luxemburgers. Now everyone knows that they are false. Everyone may draw his own conclusions."

M. Eyschen then telegraphed explicitly that the French had never invaded the Grand Duchy, and had even torn up the rails on their side of the frontier, on Saturday, August 1st, at Mont-St.-Martin-Longwy. This was proof positive that they did not mean to send train loads of soldiers into the Grand Duchy. "But there is more. I am convinced *that false news has been spread intentionally*, although I cannot prove it for the moment."

Again does the speaker dwell on consoling facts in this crisis,—no acts of warfare are to be committed and the transit is to be a passage only. Moreover he can prove that the accusations of French aggression were false and he intended to declare that to Europe as well as to the country.

The trouble caused the people and the danger of

food shortage are then dwelt upon as well as the restriction in railroad service. M. Eyschen had taken part in the Peace conferences at The Hague. There he had protested against the theory that a general was not bound by existing laws, and against the so-called "necessity of war," but he was doomed to see his worst fears realized. He can only hope that troops will not be quartered on private families and that property will be respected. In these hopes he was supported by the deputies who gave a rising assent to the motion that a protest should be sent to the German Government and to the Powers who signed the treaty of 1867. The vote was unanimous.

It must be confessed that M. Eyschen's words seem very mild in the face of the flagrant act of the Germans. But what could be done? Luxemburg was powerless. And Germany was not only powerful, but willing to use any means to enforce the action desired for the moment.

The Belgian minister thinks that the troops were deliberately deceived into believing that French sharpshooters were hidden in the thickets, that patrols of cavalry and motors had already tracked the country. An officer belonging to one of the first detachments confessed to a Luxemburg friend who repeated it to Count Jehay that when he received his orders, he expected to be killed before nightfall.

The broadsides mentioned by M. Eyschen had

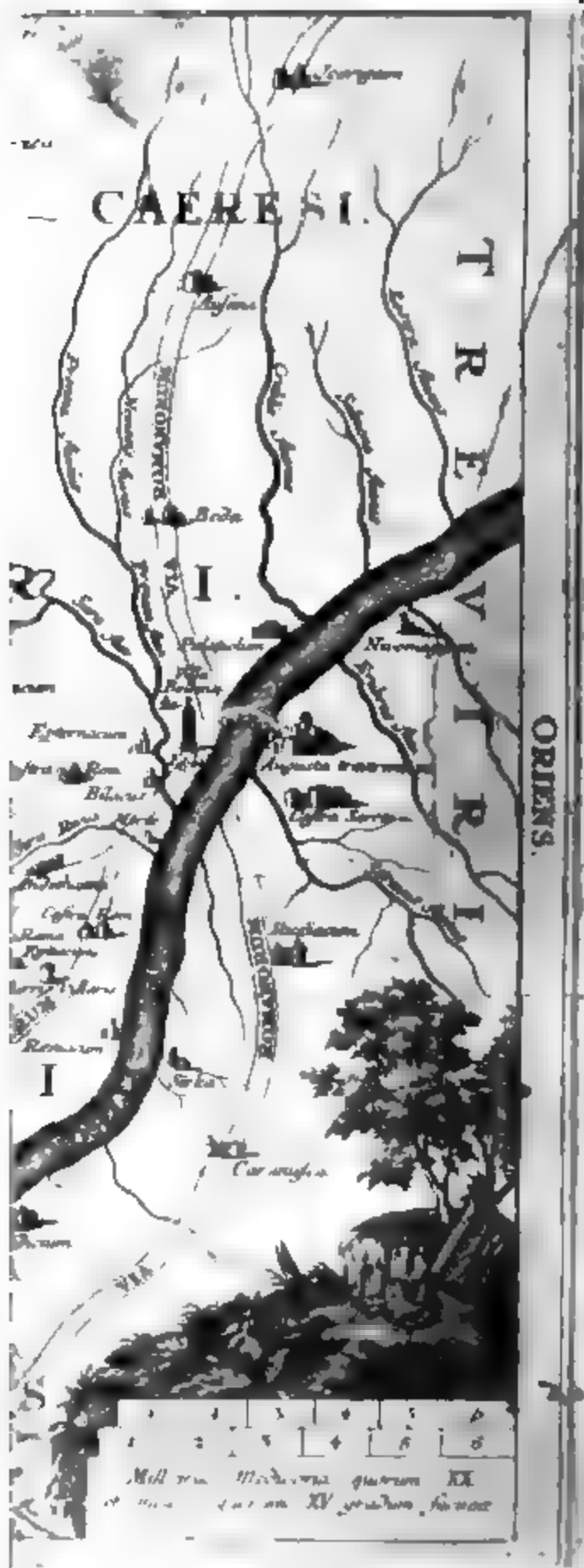
their effect, although only a few were distributed. Since the assertion came from superior officers, subordinates, convinced of the truth, probably repeated it in good faith.

The Belgian tells another story which he vouches for. Though not mentioned by M. Eyschen, it is not at odds with his official statement. On the morning of August 2nd, military motors were seen in the little faubourg of Clausen, just north-east of Luxemburg. Suspecting that troops, known to be on the march, would speedily arrive at the city gate, M. Eyschen ordered Major van Dyck to station himself on the bridge of the Bock, the terminus of the road from Treves, and to make a formal protest to the first German officer who should present himself. The Major proceeded to the place as ordered and placed his automobile directly across the road, so that no one could get by. He saw an automobile approaching from the direction of Treves, begin to ascend the slope of the Bock, then suddenly turn and retreat. Three hours later, a train, curtains drawn at every window, brought a contingent of troops to the capital. The officer in command was requested to appear before M. Eyschen and state under whose orders he was acting. "Major van Dyck was awaiting you at the bridge of the Bock. Why did not the automobile coming on that road continue its way?" asked the President. "It was fired upon," replied the officer. "I deny that

assertion, absolutely," said Major van Dyck, who was present at the interview. "I was alone with one of my men and we were not armed." As aide to the Grand Duchess, the Major was in a court car, and here is the origin of the legend that the young sovereign herself begged the German officer to refrain from trespassing on her domain. Her tears were easily sprinkled over the patchwork of fact and fancy.

This entry of an invading force who were to be nothing more than birds of passage, paying their way across a friendly land, was but a prelude to a longer sojourn than was at first intimated. A few weeks later, Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer, turned war correspondent, saw the German General Staff established comfortably in the neutralized city that had protested, albeit feebly, at the outset.³ Hedin came into the Grand Duchy from Treves, passing the monument at Igel, erected by Secundinius Aventinus and his brother to their parents some two thousand years ago, thus testifying to other invasions of the territory. He crossed the Sure at Wasserbillig and entered the Grand Duchy. He did not find the population cordial. "Greetings and waving of friendly handkerchiefs are a thing of the past." More is the pity, as any one who has walked or bicycled across the lovely country will remember how no peasant ever passed a stranger on the road without a pleasant word.

DRO WILTHELM



It was not surprising that the Swede found that no one was willing to betray his thoughts, as he himself was richly provided with letters recommending him to German officials and signed by high authorities, and if the Luxemburgers saw him easily making his way towards their capital they knew that he must be a friend of their unwelcome visitors. The land is very pretty as he approaches the city, half below and half on top of the heights. "Now we begin to look about. Yes, it is evident that the main headquarters are still at Luxemburg. Sentries are at the entrance to all the hotels. Soldiers are everywhere. Officers are rushing by in motors. In a marketplace large tents have been put up for horses and around them walk sentries smoking their pipes; in another open space there are rows of motor-cars laden with petrol and oil in cylinders." The General Staff, having changed its mind about simply crossing Luxemburg, had made themselves comfortable in a house that had been a school in peaceful times. Hedin finds friends, among them Count von Moltke whose wife was a fellow countrywoman and had often received the explorer in her house in Stockholm. She, too, was in Luxemburg, in the service of the Red Cross, so he felt quite at home. He was assured that his Berlin-signed passport was an open sesame everywhere and that he would be able to get nearer the front. It was not far. The Crown Prince

was only two hours' distant and the guns from Verdun were audible, though this was but in the early days and long before the great drive on that ill-fated city.

Hedin found himself in the midst of great activity, although not of the action he was longing to see. Troop trains passed through Luxemburg every half-hour and their only pause was at mid-day to avoid congestion. "Here is the pulse that beats in the artery of the German railway system. One wave of human energy after another thus sweeps towards the battlefield and flings itself against the enemy's fire; the spirit of gaiety resounds from the over-filled wagons, accompanied by the glorious songs of *Deutschland über Alles* and *Die Wacht am Rhein*. There is no trace of fear, not a sign of despondency anywhere"—Hedin does not apparently count the gloom of the peasants, forgetful of their traditional courtesy under the stress of 1914, as "despondency."

It would seem as though all Berlin had come down to Luxemburg from the names mentioned by Hedin as "among those present" in the neutral city. Von Bethmann-Hollweg, von Jagow, von Falkenhayn, etc., all were among the passing strangers not in too much of a hurry to move on. The main headquarters are the brain of the army where all plans are made and whence all orders issue. It is an incredibly complicated apparatus, with an organization in which every detail is

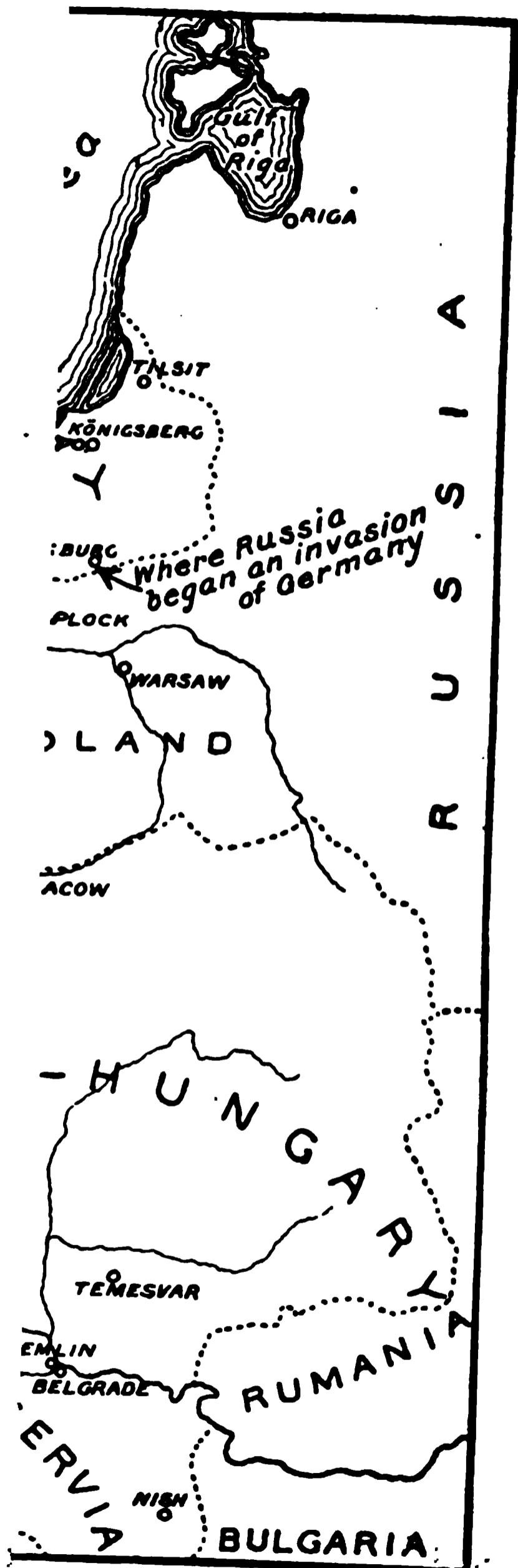
prepared in advance. "When an apparatus of this kind is installed in a small town like Luxemburg, all hotels, all schools, barracks, government offices, as well as private houses, have to be requisitioned as billets. The invaded country has no alternative but to resign itself to its fate. But nothing is taken promiscuously, everything will be paid for after the war." Here is sure testimony as to how much attention was paid to the protests from that extra session of the Chamber of Deputies! The War Ministry was housed in a hotel, the General Staff in a school, the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister in an exceptionally elegant private house, the Kaiser's suite at Hotel Staar where Hedin stayed.

The Swede was honoured with an invitation to lunch with the Kaiser. In company with some member of the suite he was taken in a motor to the railed-off section of the city where were the Imperial quarters, the first floor of the Chancellor's residence, the Chancery occupying the ground floor—so thoroughly did these "birds of passage" make their nests to suit their passing needs. The decorations of the Chancery were enormous maps of the theatre of war mounted on easels. Beyond this busy place was the dining-room, where waited the guests, all in field uniform except Hedin who wore his ordinary day clothes. At the stroke of one, the KAISER entered. Only capitals can express the Swede's tone of admiration for this

personage, "the most remarkable man in Europe, who had kept the Peace of Europe for twenty-five years." When he joined his waiting guests the room was perfectly, intensely still. "One realized that one was in the presence of a great personality."

Here is an authentic picture of the Grand Duchy yielding perforce to the demands of Germany. Later many of the factories were turned to German military uses. Naturally French aircraft dropped bombs on these when they could, "whereby are killed civil inhabitants of our country and also our soldiers, fighting as volunteers on the French front." Thus states an appeal to President Wilson sent through the American ambassador at Paris by some of the Luxembourgish refugees. They declare that the 269,000 inhabitants of their land were terrorized over by the invaders whose army is twice that number. Two thousand volunteers, ten per cent. of the entire male population of military age, are in the French armies. The petition, sent in the spring of 1917, asks that the United States, in deciding her own participation in the conflict, may consider that the violation of Luxemburg's neutrality and of The Hague conventions, to which the United States was signatory, were added reasons for her joining the Allies.⁴

Probably every detail of the events, the intentions, the pledges, the illusions and the disillusion of the early days of this world war will be



discussed in all their bearings by students of history—and psychology—for many years to come.

The invasion of Luxemburg, in the face of all the treaties of neutrality which alone made its existence tenable, was of an importance quite out of proportion to the magnitude of the territory involved. It was a reversion to Force, to purely primitive means of reaching a desired end.

The Grand Duchy was but a tiny land to assert the independence assured to it by the sworn neutrality. Nine hundred and ninety-eight square miles form a feeble background for sovereignty, when it comes to forbidding a strong neighbour to trespass, still more so when it comes to *two* big neighbours, each cherishing hostile intentions against the other. It is not so astonishing that the effort was futile as that sufficient "independence" existed, even nominally, within such narrow bounds, to make the attempt. How does it chance that this sea-shell^s is left stranded on dry land, when the sea in which its fellows floated has receded and left them within various pales of national existence? Once there were on the continent many diminutive political entities, more or less similar to Luxemburg in size, each decorated with a pompous little court, where punctilious pedigreed officials maintained high dignity by strenuous exertion of every sinew. Indeed such Lilliputian courts might be described

as standing on tiptoe to attain the rank that etiquette required for its hereditary station in life. Sovereign rights were fondly cherished by the rulers of each petty principality whose independence was depicted with a minute splash of colour, making the map of Europe look like a palette. Nearly all these bright little spots have disappeared into a larger field of colour. Luxemburg has had the peculiar experience of having had the separateness of her existence reasserted late in the nineteenth century by treaties in which all the great Powers took part, each for its own reason. Her continued being has not been a case of survival of the fittest. It survived because its crisscross of affiliations were woven into an effective barrier to the encroachment on the part of any one of its neighbours. It has been successively associated politically with one after another, while never completely amalgamated even with Belgium to which it was affiliated by sympathies and by interests and with whose provinces it was identified for almost exactly four centuries—never amalgamated beyond the possibility of being detached, that is. For detached it was in 1839 in spite of the protests of the inhabitants. The story of Luxemburg is a record of compacts and of treaties made *for* and never *by* Luxemburg.

Its own early counts left it for larger fields of action. It fell under Burgundian, Spanish,

A Neutralized Land in 1914 · 19

French, Austrian, Dutch, and Belgian government. Last of all it has been independent. But it is too small for the task. Its natural alliance would be with Belgium, as may appear from a chronicle of its experiences in the last century with a sketch of its history in earlier times.

PART I

**A Survey of Eight Centuries in
Luxemburg—963—1780**

CHAPTER I

THE RULERS

963-1780

Early Centuries. The present Grand Duchy is of recent origin. The city of Luxemburg has, however, had a long continuous existence as the heart of a Luxemburg, unnamed, then known as a Countship and later as a Duchy—a Luxemburg of varying extent before the more pompous title covered a mere fragment of the original territory. The city grew up upon and below a wonderful crag of rock known as the inland Gibraltar and considered impregnable when surmounted by a fortress strong against mediæval weapons. Lying 6° east of Greenwich, 49° 36' north latitude, west of the Rhine, it is between modern France, modern Germany, and adjacent to the two Netherland kingdoms. Its sturdy defences are all dismantled now in the interests of "neutrality"; but the rock is there and the city, with its base washed by two little streams, the Petrusse and the Alzette.

The area of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg as it is now, measures 999 square miles—2586 square kilometres. Less dense than Belgium, more dense

than France, its population numbered in December, 1910, 259,891 inhabitants—134,101 male and 125,790 female. A French department contains, on an average, 6000 square kilometres and a trifle more than 455,000 inhabitants. It would take 207 Grand Duchies in territory and 152 in population to make a France. Belgium has twelve times the area and twenty-eight times the population. Luxemburg is thus almost a toy country. But once it was of far greater extent. In an essay on the Great War, a Japanese school-boy described Belgium's reply to Germany's request for a passage as: "I am a country not a road." This phrase might express Luxemburg's own claim, while, as a matter of fact she has been forced to yield to destiny and be a road without hearing even a "By your leave" from the intruder as he pushed aside the guard at the gate. Hordes of divers races have tramped across her wooded lands. Some dropped out of the ranks and settled down until displaced by the next comer. Celtic, Teuton, Roman elements all entered into the composition of the race that became identified with the name of Luxemburg and tangible traces of successive invaders are to be found everywhere. At Altlinster, about fifteen miles from the capital, two figures stand in high relief cut upon the living rock. They are called *De Man en de Fra op der Lei*. No one knows how long they looked down upon the world before the man lost his head.



DE MAN EN DE FRA OP DER LEI. (CELTIC?)

The Man and Woman on the Rock

Bas-relief at Altinster

(Twelve feet high, eight broad.)

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The country people know the pair well and have many quaint explanations of his decapitation, while his wife remained intact amid the ravages of time. Whatever hand, Celtic or Teutonic, wrought upon the rock there, it was presumably someone unskilled in classic art and possessed of primitive tools. Then the Romans came and their artists scattered here and there many evidences of the later Latin civilization as it existed in the Rhine-lands. Tombs, statues, monuments, etc., abound, especially in the region of Arlon, while innumerable coins seem to have been lost by careless owners, so rich has been the harvest.

The Overlords—963-1555. The beginnings of Luxemburg, even as a semblance of a political unit, are vague. The region shared the fortunes of other sections of Lorraine until, late in the tenth century, one Count of Ardenne endowed his younger son Sigefroy with a group of unrelated estates as his share of the paternal heritage. Then the great rock, the wonderful inland Gibraltar, was in the possession of the Abbey of St. Maximin at Treves, having been presented to that foundation by Charles Martel in 725, as recompense for a wonderful cure wrought by the kindly intervention of St. Maximin himself. Sigefroy saw that it was the very place for the stronghold that he needed to protect his property, and the Abbot was quite willing to consider an offer for it, and signed a deed (April, 963) whereby *Lucilinburhuc*, with its

surrounding land, was ceded to Sigefroy in exchange for estates near Feulen so that the birthday of the city could be established perfectly *if the document were authentic*.¹ That fact is open to grave doubt, however, as well as are some other items about Sigefroy. Myths float about him and his castle; some say that, in spite of his reputed descent from Charles the Great, the fairy Melusine was really his mother, while another rumour makes her his wife and the real architect of his house on the great rock. Meeting this lovely lady on the banks of the river below the crag, Sigefroy lost his heart and was willing to promise that if she would marry him, she should be quite free to do as she chose once a week and no questions would be asked. Then the castle sprang to completion in a single night and the pair lived happily for many years, Melusine fulfilling all the duties of a chatelaine for six days, while on Saturday she withdrew into her apartment and let the house go on without her. Of course the fatal day came when Sigefroy's curiosity overpowered his sense of honour to his pledge. He forced the door of Melusine's retreat and saw her disporting in a bath, but so far changed that a fish tail had replaced her limbs! At the sight of her mortal husband, Melusine uttered a cry and vanished—bath and all sinking out of sight. But the solid castle and the mortal children were left behind as proof of her sometime existence in the world of men.



SATYRS. (CELTIC TEDDY-BEARS?)
Found at Durbuy, Belgian Luxemburg.

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Moreover, castle sentries have reported the return of the fairy to the scene of her domestic experiences. If the guards were Luxemburg born, it is not strange that Melusine should appear to them. Luxemburg has always had eyes for the miraculous and has heard echoes of the past and clung pertinaciously to the belief that they were true voices. The law books are full of regulations against superstitious practices, usages that had evidently lingered on from Celtic times under Roman rule and later survived the introduction of Christianity; certain of these illegal ceremonies contained primitive as well as Roman elements and were fondly cherished by trustful peasants who pinned their faith to strange methods of assuring good crops and freedom from pestilence in spite of ecclesiastical and civil prohibitions. Like the *Man en de Fra op der Lei* and the classic remains here and there, superstitions of every kind held sway through the ages and probably have not all vanished today.

Whether the deed of 963 passing between Sigefroy and the Abbot of St. Maximin be authentic or not, that year is about the time when he is said to have begun to administer his affairs from Lucilinburhuc as a capital. The name underwent many changes before it received a settled form as Luxemburg in German or Luxembourg in French. As the rounded estate passed from father to son, it suffered some losses and had some additions.

In the eleventh century its overlord is duly designated as Count—a title never borne by Sigefroy or his immediate descendants. With the son of the first count, Conrad II., eighth in line from Sigefroy, the Founder of the Family, the male line became extinct and the heritage passed to the second family of sovereign lords, through a daughter of the House, Ermesinde, wife of Conrad of Namur. Her son, Henry the Blind, was a disorderly personage, who lived to an advanced age in spite of his excesses. His daughter Ermesinde, born when her father was about ninety, inherited the countship. She managed to avoid too much "protection" on the part of officious kinsmen, who resented her existence, and she proved an able executor, from whose administration date excellent reforms and institutions in Luxemburg. Her name is an honoured one in the annals, as she devoted herself to local interests, lived in the capital, and identified herself with the interests of her subjects as her militant ancestors had failed to do. Her charter to the city of Luxemburg gives a sure date in its existence, 1244.² Her reign of fifty-one years was a golden era.

• With Ermesinde the second family, the line of Luxemburg-Namur, expired and that of Luxemburg-Limburg succeeded. From this time on there are sufficient documents in existence to give pictures of some phases of life. The rela-

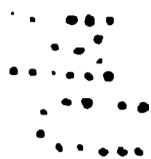


MINERVA.



ERMESINDE.

Institut (Luxemburg)



tions between counts and subjects were simply those of master and servant. The early charters show how the citizens wrested rights from their overlord, by means of his own stress. They furnished money or men and he granted privileges which became chartered rights and were jealously guarded. The amounts that could be levied by a master on occasions like the marriages of his children, his own warfare, etc., were defined and extortions guarded against. While these regulations were not invariably observed, they were never forgotten and remained as a standard.

The Luxemburg Emperors. In the fourteenth century, new fortunes came to the Luxemburg family. By that time the Holy Roman Empire—once a strong organization under vigorous sovereigns—had lost its prestige. The imperial dignity had become very insignificant in the face of the rise of the lesser German sovereigns who were determined to keep the elected monarch in a state of *de facto* impotency. There was a series of shadow emperors. The office was not abolished because a figurehead was considered necessary as key-stone to the arch, but a weak character was preferred behind the symbol of authority,—an individual not skilful enough to graft the elected honour onto his family tree, one who could be induced to respect existing immunities and to confer new ones in return for votes and “influence.” Electioneering was not scrupulous in its

methods. Bribes in some form were a matter of course. It was the irreconcilable interests of various rivals, each unwilling to permit an ambitious aspirant to take precedence, that led to the elevation to the dignity of such men as Henry Raspe, William of Holland, Richard of Cornwall, Alfonso of Castile, the first Hapsburg, and Adolf of Nassau—some of them being chosen simultaneously by opposing factions.

The electors were looking around for a candidate to their taste, when one young Henry of Luxemburg was suggested as one whose land was too small to make him a danger. They did not want an assertive personality backed by substantial "influence." Peter of Mainz proposed Henry as being an excellent young man, honest, brave, and discreet, but too impecunious to be a menace. He was elected and known as Henry VII., and proved a very different imperial executive from his nine predecessors, who had never been crowned at Rome. He won immortality because he is the ideal emperor of Dante's vision of the perfectly balanced world government. Yet his election was a distinct disadvantage to Luxemburg. From 1308 on, Luxemburg was left to the care of subordinates; there was no more careful, sympathetic administration such as had been given by a home ruler like Ermesinde.

Henry made his son John Count of Luxemburg before he himself went to Italy. At the same

time he married him to the heiress of the Bohemian crown and he is known as John of Bohemia instead of Count of Luxemburg. A typical knight adventurer of mediæval type, this John paid little attention to his heritage, except to ask for money to help him out in his various enterprises that had no connection with Luxemburg interests. He was seen occasionally at Sigefroy's stronghold and he established a fair in the city. Perhaps the people liked to hear of his exploits and were proud to remember that this world figure was their overlord. In one mad expedition to convert the heathen in East Prussia, he lost the sight of one eye, unskilful treatment deprived him of the other, and he ended his life as the Blind King who insisted on being led into the Battle of Crécy (1346). Myth has been busy with him, almost as much so as with his ancestor Sigefroy. Voltaire said of him: "This king of Bohemia was then the veritable emperor in power" (1331). That is saying more than the truth. Certainly he was widely known and ventured much. But his accomplishment was slight in comparison with his reputation. And his death was valiant. Nothing called him to Crécy but friendship for the French king. He went so far and tried so much! Tradition made his death at the hands of the Black Prince who was said to have picked up his crest and his feathers and adopted them for his own. But the feathers worn by this Count of Luxemburg and

King of Bohemia are wholly different from the feathers of the Prince of Wales as the cut shows, while it is not sure that the motto *Ich dien* was ever used by him or any member of his family although it appears on the modern palace.

There was something rather charming about this erratic genius, quixotic and impractical as he was, and many a poem was written to do honour to him and his deeds. He was terribly disappointed not to follow his father in the empire. The electors thought him too young to consider at the time of Henry's death, but the reputation of the great Luxemburger was sufficient to turn their attention to his grandson and Charles the eldest son of King John was made King of the Romans when the opportunity offered.

The Duchy. The second Emperor from the House of Luxemburg, Charles IV., left one substantial legacy to the empire in the shape of the Golden Bull which became the corner-stone of the German Constitution, providing, among other regulations, that henceforth the number of electors should be seven instead of the indeterminate number that had caused infinite confusion during so many contested elections. To his ancestral land he also made a gift by changing it from a countship to a duchy in 1354. He was rich himself. Many lands had come to his sovereignty from one cause or another. He ruled Bohemia, and Silesia among other lands. In 1379 Branden-



THE SEAL OF JOHN, KING OF BOHEMIA, COUNT OF LUXEMBURG.

(Showing the vulture wing on his crest)

From Bertholet's Histoire du Duché de Luxembourg.



CROSS IN MEMORY OF JOHN, KING OF BOHEMIA, ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF CRÉCY.

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burg, too, fell under his rule. By his father's will he was himself excluded from inheriting the Duchy and it was bestowed on his brother Wenzel. The preamble of the patent gives the reason for the change of status of the land.

Charles by the grace of God, King of the Romans, always august, and King of Bohemia, to the illustrious Wenzel, Duke of Luxemburg his brother and Prince well-beloved gives salutation. The imperial dignity, because of its sublimity and the pre-eminence of its power, being above all inferior puissances, it is just that its throne should throw out far-reaching roots and thus strengthen itself in proportion as it spreads more abundantly in the bosom of its adherents the benefits of its munificence. And just as the rays of the sun illumine by their clarity the darkest places, so the nobles who owe their *éclat* to the royal majesty make illustrious the diverse states of human life. The primal splendour, however, in communicating its quality to others, does not suffer any diminution; on the contrary, the greater the number of illustrious there are surrounding his Majesty, the more does the Empire reflect of glory and the more brilliant is the throne.³

The letter patent conferring the title of Duke of Luxemburg on Wenzel and his successors for ever, with all the benefits thereto pertaining and under express stipulations of mutual obligations between dukes and emperors, was signed at Metz, March, 1354. In that year Wenzel did his part

towards the city of Luxemburg by confirming the privileges conferred by Ermesinde. Also on account of the link between the sovereigns of Luxemburg and Bohemia, certain privileges of citizenship were promised to the burghers if they ever found themselves in Bohemia.

In the same year in which Charles presented his brother with ducal honours, he had his son made King of the Romans. The pleasing acquiescence of the electors in his desire was not gratuitous, however. Each vote cost the candidate's father 100,000 florins. Moreover when the time came for settlement of pre-election pledges, Charles could not command the necessary cash and was forced to satisfy his creditors by ceding, temporarily, certain castles, cities, and revenue. The mortgages were an inconvenient drain upon future imperial revenues.

The title of Duke of Luxemburg was little associated with Wenzel, as his wife, Jeanne, sole heir to her father, brought him the right to style himself Duke of Brabant. Brussels was his residence and there he modelled his little court upon the French plan and cultivated letters in French fashion. Jean Froissart was among the poets to whom he was a Mæcenas.

His imperial brother made a strenuous effort to put down some of the outlawry that was terribly rife in all the lands lying along the Rhine valleys and to the east and west of it. He called on all

the petty sovereigns to unite in the interests of law and order. Wenzel was made Chief of a League to Enforce Peace and some outlawry was suppressed and some bandits restrained in making exactions upon the peasants, but the reform was not altogether a success. The Duke of Juliers and others complained that their domains were illegally invaded in the name of the League and fresh hostilities ensued before their wounded feelings were soothed. The League is rather to be noted as an evidence of the theory of combination in behalf of the common weal than as an example of successful co-operation. Human theory has invariably been more pacifically inclined than human practice has accepted as a working basis.

In his financial administration of Luxemburg affairs, Wenzel was far more successful than his debt-ridden father with his Europe-wide obligations. He freed many of the encumbered estates, bought others to round out the frontier, and was, on the whole, a fairly efficient ruler, in spite of Brabant demanding his time and his thought. But the Duchy was not so far distant that the general needs of the Luxemburg people could not be understood by their Duke in Brussels. They were often in sore need. A pest raged in the Ardennes regions and carried off more than half the inhabitants in spite of strenuous efforts to stay its ravages. Human remedies proved their inefficiency, says Bertholet, and recourse was had

to Higher Powers with greater effect. But it was long before the district was re-peopled. Special exemption from taxes was offered as an inducement to immigrants.

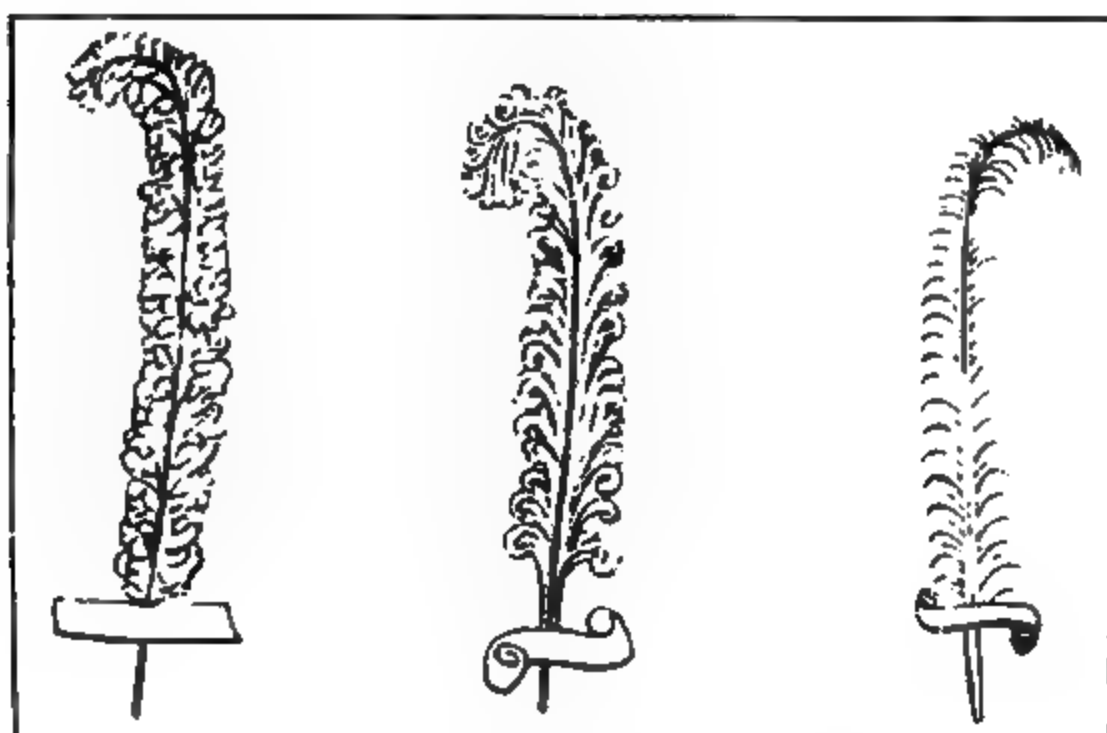
Wenzel's marriage was without issue and the estates of the pair fell apart to their respective heirs. Wenzel, son of Charles IV. became Duke of Luxemburg. He proved to be the least reputable member of the House. Had his father not secured his election as King of the Romans when he was still an unknown quantity, no one of the seven electors would have supported his candidacy, even at 100,000 florins a vote. No one has a good word to say of him as Emperor. In 1398 he visited France—whither he travelled along the old Roman road running directly from Treves to Rheims—and found French wines so palatable that he was hardly ever sober during his stay. Michelet remarks on the strange spectacle of the serious affairs of the Church gravely discussed by two sovereigns, one of whom was mad, intermittently, and the other intoxicated, continuously!

To the credit of the imperial electors it must be said that they were scandalized at the Emperor, claimed the right of recall, and deposed Wenzel. He denied that right but retired to Bohemia, from which he could not be ousted and took his own measures to be relieved from responsibility for Luxemburg, on the plea that he could not do justice to his dear subjects there from his distant

capital. He had other reasons, too, for shifting that burden. His debts were enormous and Louis, Duke of Orleans, had lent him large sums taking the Duchy as security, with the idea that a foreclosure would follow easily. The title was not clear, to be sure, as Josse of Moravia, another grandson of John the Blind, already held a first mortgage on the unfortunate land, but the French duke intended to pay that off, little by little. He had large plans in view. He confidently hoped to patch together a realm large enough to give him as much prestige as that of the Duke of Burgundy. The acquisition of Luxemburg came high, but he obtained permission from the French King to impose extra taxes in his own duchy in order to raise the necessary funds. One instalment was paid to Josse of Moravia and, had there been no block in the current of events, Luxemburg would have floated within the zone of French influence, and, ultimately, have broken all ties with the Empire just as Burgundy did. But in 1407, the Duke of Orleans was murdered in Paris at the hands of his Burgundian rival and the Duchy relapsed to the family of its founder. The moneys that had already passed were insufficient to secure the title to young Charles of Orleans, although some claims were put forth in his behalf, and a member of the Luxemburg family became sovereign albeit under a title that was not decisive.

Elizabeth of Goerlitz. The youngest son of Charles IV. was known as John of Goerlitz from the province that was his portion of the paternal heritage. He died as a young man and left his daughter and sole heiress to the guardianship of her uncle Wenzel. He planned her marriage to the son of his friend, the Duke of Orleans, as a price for aid in restoring him to the imperium. The project was also connected with the sale of Luxemburg as that cession was simpler if the idea of dowry were connected with it. Both projects were abandoned in 1407 perforce and Elizabeth married Anthony of Brabant—a member of the Burgundian family, then growing in importance.⁴ Wenzel promised her a dowry of 120,000 Rhenish florins, but it was not convenient just then to raise the money. Until it was paid, she and her husband were to hold the Duchy of Luxemburg as security, enjoying sovereign rights as Duke and Duchess and all revenues lawfully accruing to the ruler. Moreover if they found it convenient to liquidate the debt to Josse of Moravia, they were free to do so, thereby becoming actual instead of *de facto* sovereigns. In 1411, conditions were somewhat simplified by the death of Josse—elected Emperor in 1410, after the death of Rupert of the Palatinate, the immediate successor of the deposed Wenzel. His estates lapsed to Wenzel whose own heir was Sigismund.

Elizabeth and Anthony were duly recognized



**EARLIEST REPRESENTATIONS OF THE OSTRICH FEATHERS OF THE
BLACK PRINCE.**

(Drawn on margin of three MSS of John d Arderne, c. 1370)



THE SEAL OF JOHN OF BOHEMIA, KING OF LUXEMBURG.

in the Duchy and their tenure was renewed by Wenzel and Sigismund successively under the same conditions of reversion to the male line upon payment of the dowry of 120,000 Rhenish florins. Duke Anthony fell at the Battle of Agincourt. One son born to him and Elizabeth had been baptized William and had then been laid in the tomb of the late Duchess of Brabant, under an epitaph almost as long as his sojourn upon earth. *Lequel Guillaume a vécu peu, étant mort l'an MCCCCX., le X. Juillet* is the life history of this little Luxemburger, Guillaume de Brabant.

As time went on without Elizabeth being called on to relinquish the security for her dowry, she was called Duchess of Luxemburg although never legally entitled to the name. It is applied to her in some charters but not in all. Usually she is styled *engagiste* or mortgagee.

After three years of widowhood, Elizabeth took a second husband from the Netherlands, John of Bavaria, a disagreeable, dissipated semi-ecclesiastic, released from his vows by the Council of Constance but usually known as Bishop-elect of Liége. His life was absorbed in trying to acquire the heritage of another forlorn heiress, Jacoba of Bavaria or Jacqueline of Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut. In 1425 he too died and Elizabeth was left to the "protection" of other kinsmen of her husband's and of her own.

Meanwhile fortune had smiled on her uncle

Sigismund and there was fair prospect that the House of Luxemburg might regain the prestige won by Henry VII. and almost wrecked by the incapacity of Wenzel. At the death of Emperor Rupert, both he and Josse of Moravia had been candidates for election. The result was unsatisfactory. On September 20th three votes were cast for Sigismund; on October 1st, four electors chose Josse. A question of the validity of certain credentials led the former to claim the election, but Josse was recognized and Sigismund was left protesting. For a space there were three Richmonds in the field—Wenzel had never accepted his deposition—each posing as King of the Romans and all three were of the House of Luxemburg! The death of Josse in three months cleared the way for his cousin, who was elected and, later, crowned in Rome without serious opposition at home or abroad, and was thus launched on an administration of thirty-five years. Sigismund's own circumstances were peculiarly favourable for enabling him to extend his sphere of influence. He had been designated as successor by his father-in-law, Louis the Great, King of Hungary and Poland. Objection was raised to him in both countries. The Poles made good their opposition and chose their own ruler to the exclusion of Sigismund, but in Hungary he was finally acknowledged as monarch by the majority. He was also heir to his brother Wenzel in Bohemia and Luxemburg,

while various territories in the mark of Brandenburg fell to him in several other fashions so that he controlled wide areas of land and considerable potential resources, although he failed to retain his tenure in all cases as he might have done. For Luxemburg he did care, and after Wenzel's death, confirmed Elizabeth's title as *engagiste* only, reasserting his right of redemption at option.

The inhabitants would have rejoiced had Sigismund validated his rights. Elizabeth did not resemble her ancestor Ermesinde of blessed memory. She was neither a happy nor a popular ruler. She was hampered in her administration, perhaps, by the distinctions made as to her limitations. Reluctant taxpayers were inclined to urge that she was a mere temporary incumbent, unwarranted in asking certain tolls which were the perquisite of the actual sovereign and of him alone. At the same time they were very reproachful because she failed to defend her frontiers adequately, while she was equally reproachful because they failed to grant the necessary funds to pay her troops. Like many of her kin, she found herself repeatedly in pecuniary straits and forced to adopt the old expedient of raising money. If all other crops failed, mortgages flourished. But a small loan like that raised on half of Virton and St. Mand for four thousand florins was only a drop in the sea of her liabilities and she finally had recourse to financial operations on a more

extended scale. And purchasers for her wares were near at hand. Divers negotiations were set on foot *in re* Luxemburg and the dynastic control of the territory entered upon a very confused phase, owing to the failure of heirs male.

In 1437 the Emperor Sigismund died without having changed Elizabeth's tenure in the Duchy. She was thus left to continue her *status quo* unless her uncle's heir should pay her dowry which was among the liabilities inherited.

Sigismund was the last son of the line of Henry VII. There was posterity of that Emperor's brother Valeran in France and various daughters of the House had left issue, but they had planted family trees out beyond the pale of the Duchy and their children did not count in the succession, although several were destined to attain distinction. With the line ended the high hopes cherished by Charles IV. that Luxemburg was to prove the cradle of a race of hereditary emperors. With that end in view, he had had his son elected King of the Romans in his lifetime. But that infringement of election usage had availed nothing. This much can be said of the House of Luxemburg—three emperors and John of Bohemia claimed attention as interesting and striking personalities in Europe during nearly a century and a half and then the family star set. Stubbs calls Henry VII. a typical old German hero, brave as a knight errant and wise as a politician.

His son, John of Bohemia, had the knight errantry exaggerated and the wisdom turned to guile. Charles IV. showed no trace of the first quality, and his guile became unscrupulous policy. Wenzel had certain of his grandfather's characteristics exaggerated into something like insanity. Moreover, he was depraved by habitual intoxication. Elizabeth's father is an unknown quantity. Sigismund, the last comer, united in his person certain qualities of all his predecessors. He had a dash of fantastic knight errantry, like John of Bohemia; he loved to hold church councils with the pomp of Charles IV., and, like him, he loved to be considered a fount of wisdom on all possible subjects. But in spite of his absurdities—and they existed—and his erratic policies, there was a touch of honesty and sincerity about him which carries him—so says Stubbs—nearer to Henry VII. than any of his immediate ancestors.

One act of Sigismund is worth noting in passing, because it marks a step in the rise of another family, a rise coincident with the eclipse of the Luxemburg race. The mark of Brandenburg came into the hands of Charles IV. as a lapsed fief and it fell to Sigismund with the rest of his heritage. When one Frederick of High or Hohe Zollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, offered two hundred thousand florins for the mark where he was then governor in the Emperor's behalf, Sigismund accepted the offer, invested him with the fief as

an hereditary possession, and thus prepared the way for the House of Hohenzollern to obtain a foothold in the North as a vantage point for further expansion.

The Emperor was engrossed in a scheme for making a personal appeal to every sovereign in Europe in order to beg assistance in restoring peace to the Church, racked as it was by schism. The proceeds of the sale of Brandenburg were designed to defray his travelling expenses to the various capitals. The investiture of Frederick as Elector of Brandenburg took place on April 18, 1417. Thus the year 1917 marked the close of five hundred years of Hohenzollern occupation in Brandenburg.

In this reign occurred the last crusade and a notable attempt to check free speech in the University of Prague. The latter was followed by the trial and execution of John Huss—the first step in the suppression of the Protestant revolt.

Sigismund's heir to his estates and his imperial dignity was his son-in-law, Albert of Hapsburg. He, too, talked of redeeming Luxemburg, but never accomplished it as he died prematurely, leaving his wife Elizabeth with two young daughters, Anne and Elizabeth. A son, Ladislas Posthumus, was born after his father's death. All three appeared on different occasions as claimants to Luxemburg—their cause espoused by Frederick III. of Hapsburg, who had followed Albert as

Emperor, or by the King of France. Elizabeth had been quite ready to assent to Albert's proposition to pay her dowry and to release Luxemburg, and, when the project was abandoned, was inclined to make a bargain elsewhere as her finances were in a bad way. How could she help her debts? Times were very hard. The cost of living had increased enormously. Wheat and wine brought unheard-of prices, while disease followed in the train of scarcity of the bare necessities of life. The Duchess borrowed right and left, sometimes in sums so pitifully small that it proved the penury from which she suffered "shame and ridicule" (*worüber sie Schand und Spot leiden müsste*). Jacques de Sierck, Archbishop of Treves, was a good friend to her as he had been many times before and loaned her a paltry seventy florins until Epiphany. That was only one instance of her indebtedness to him. Indeed he held so many mortgages on various holdings in the Duchy, that Elizabeth decided to cede it all to him, subject to redemption by Sigismund's heirs, and thus clear herself entirely. But her Hapsburg kin objected and so did Philip of Burgundy, nephew of her two husbands, to whom she continually complained that he had failed to look after her dower rights in Brabant. She carried on three lines of negotiation with these various interested parties, but Philip could offer the most and with his offers she finally closed. He did not want the

archbishop in Luxemburg and it was the news of the negotiations that induced him to give heed to Elizabeth, to whose piteous appeals he had hitherto been persistently deaf.

This Philip was a rising man in Europe towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Although only duke, count, and seigneur in each of his divers estates with no centralized government, he was rich, powerful, and ambitious. France was growing into a kingdom, and he saw no reason why his own group of possessions should not take on a more unified form. Some years before the extinction of Sigismund's line he had made some overtures towards a bargain with his aunt. Now at the approach of another purchaser of her wares, his interest in the matter revived. The treaty that finished the tortuous negotiations was finally signed at the pretty little town of Hesdin on October 4, 1441, by virtue of which Elizabeth released to her dear nephew of Burgundy all her rights in Burgundy and its dependencies, all claims existing and that might arise, all pretensions to the estates of her late husbands, in consideration of a large life annuity and certain fixed sums. Philip had no difficulty in raising money for any disbursement. He was able to satisfy his aunt with dower, revenues, and jewels, in addition to the mere purchase price.⁵

The Hapsburgs did not accept the transaction without protests and a large Luxemburg party

sided with them. Philip had to gain possession of the Rock and the capital city by assault and by siege (November 22, 1443). The inhabitants were punished for their obstinacy by the confiscation of many of the precious privileges that they had bought from their overlords from time to time. While the siege was still in progress, Philip published at Arlon (October 26, 1443) a memoir⁶ calculated to soothe public opinion and to show his new subjects what motives had impelled him to take the Duchy under his protection. He explains that it was a princely duty to succour helpless women and when his dear aunt came to him in distress over the calamities suffered in her Duchy because her people would not obey her, she being a weak feminine person and very poor at that, he had felt bound to relieve her of her administrative burdens, and thus he had become, in her stead, *mambour* or guardian of Luxemburg, although he would gladly have excused himself — *bien qu'il ait voulu s'excuser*. It was, of course, a transaction wholly in accord with the interests of Sigismund's heirs. Their ultimate rights were intact. In reply to a specific charge that secret treaties had been made in regard to the disposition of the territory after Elizabeth's decease, he asseverated his innocence. Nothing would have induced him to allow his aunt to sanction any illicit diplomacy. Everything had been strictly open, etc. It was a very pleasant picture of an

altruistic and unselfish nephew that was thus presented to the public. At any rate they had to accept it as best they could, when the citadel fell and the Burgundian entered into possession, without, however, ever assuming the title of Duke of Luxemburg.

2. When Elizabeth resigned her sceptre she retired to Treves and lived quietly, debt free at last, in a house presented to her ancestor Henry VII. by the citizens. And there she died on Saturday, August 3, 1451, at the age of fifty-one. She left no permanent trace on her hereditary land, having done nothing useful there during the forty-odd years with which she had been associated with it to its continued disadvantage.

Her death caused an immediate recrudescence of the claims of Sigismund's grandchildren to the Duchy. They asserted that Elizabeth had only ceded her rights as *engagiste*—rights that ended with her life. Philip had, however, made considerable outlay upon the land and many cross settlements were required before he could be legally forced to evacuate. And the whole matter hung fire, Philip being in secure possession and intending to remain there. France had become interested. A marriage was arranged between Ladislas Posthumus and Madeleine, daughter of Charles VII. A fairer pair of young people had never been seen, and there was great enthusiasm over the match. The bridegroom, King of Poland,

which realm he had inherited from his grandmother, sent a finely equipped embassy to France to bring him his bride. They were welcomed by a series of fêtes. One was in progress when a courier rode into Paris from Prague on Christmas day with the belated tidings that Ladislav had died on November 23d, nearly a month before his ambassador asked Madeleine's hand in his behalf!

Luxemburg was to have been the bridegroom's wedding present to Madeleine and her father professed his willingness to take it for her anyway, as the executor of his son-in-law's will. Philip laughed at the idea of Charles assuming the "protection" of the estate of a dead man with whom he had not completed an alliance when alive, for Philip did not share the doubt as to the fate of the Duchy which was entertained by many of the people. He was determined to have it in spite of the efforts of William of Saxony to establish the title of his wife, the elder sister of Ladislav. William finally decided to cede that title to Charles VII. for a fair consideration and the French King gladly agreed, intending to invest his second son with the Duchy. Meanwhile, Charles himself assumed the title of *Dux Luxemburgensis* and exercised some acts of sovereignty, endorsed by proclamations from William and Anne of Saxony, who asked their people of Luxemburg to accept their new overlord. The Duke of Saxony was most delighted at the idea of having the

young Frenchman listed among the imperial princes of Germany.

The news of these negotiations roused Philip's righteous indignation. He declared that the Duke of Saxony had nothing to sell. Then the query was mooted as to whether the title to Luxemburg had not passed to Ladislas's successor in Bohemia. A fresh crop of claims blossomed forth, watered by quarts of ink poured out by industrious lawyers in the service of the eager "heirs." Then, in 1461, Charles VII. of France died and Louis XI. hurried to France from Brabant where as Dauphin under his father's displeasure he had been hospitably sheltered for years by the Duke of Burgundy. It was very difficult for the new King to make the slightest pretence of mourning for his father and he certainly was not inclined to follow his policies. Especially was the Franco-Burgundian relation changed. Louis could not, immediately, ignore his indebtedness towards his late host. So that when William of Saxony appealed to him to complete the Luxemburg business which he had in train with his father, Louis replied that he was unwilling to annoy his dear cousin of Burgundy and would, on the whole, prefer to have the ten thousand already paid down by Charles VII. refunded to the estate and to call the bargain off! William's envoys had trailed around France after the King in order to get any hearing and this

answer was their sole satisfaction. There were more discussions and then Philip intimated that, although he regarded the Saxon pretensions as absurd, he would buy them off rather than take the trouble to defend his rights by war. A long memoir drawn up by Rodophus Schenk (August, 1482) rehearses the whole story from the Saxon point of view,⁷ and explains why the true possessors were willing to cede their claims to Philip of Burgundy, seigneur *engagiste* of the Duchy. The Duke borrowed money in Haarlem, and paid down the first instalment of ten thousand crowns to William and Anne of Saxony. The remaining thirty thousand—the sum advanced by the French king was deducted from the total amount of the price—was to be due in three quotas, in 1464, 1465, and 1466, at Antwerp or Cologne as the recipients desired. It may be remarked that Philip met his obligations more honestly than had been the case with any previous “promises to pay” for poor Luxemburg. The receipt for the final instalment is dated June 30, 1466, very shortly after the appointed day.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France to all present and future. As our late seigneur and father, whom God absolve, acquired in his lifetime from . . . the duke and duchess of Saxony . . . the duchy of Luxemburg, and counties of Chiny and of la Roche en Ardenne, with the prerogatives, etc., appertaining

thereto and as it is plainly proved that our uncle and cousin, Philip, duke of Burgundy, claimed to have some rights therein, he has begged us, in order that his claims shall be more apparent, that we should be pleased to cede to him the right that we possess and thus to add to our favour. Thus we, considering our singular affection, etc., to our cousin and uncle, give, cede, etc., and release all our rights that we possess or might have in the future to the duchy of Luxemburg and the said counties of Chiny and la Roche.⁸

Louis further expressly stipulated that the ten thousand crowns paid by his father were to go towards the amount to be paid by Philip to the Saxony family. And he promised to abandon all titles he had used. All necessary papers were not immediately forthcoming when desired. On February 24th, Louis XI. wrote that he had not been able to find the title of his father's purchase but he thought the Cardinal of Constance must have it and he was going to ask him for it. At last the matter was settled.

Thus, after being bandied about between impecunious overlords and mortgagees for so many decades, Luxemburg entered the circle of Burgundy and became one of the group finally known officially as the XVII. Netherland Provinces. Its status was not unchallenged even after the settlement of 1462. A few more bubbles of protest worked their way to the surface before they vanished completely. George Podiebrad made

pretensions by right of his occupancy of the Bohemian throne. Then after Philip's death in 1467, Casimir, King of Poland, husband of the second daughter of Elizabeth of Hungary, presented her claim as an heir who had not been consulted in the settlement. There was sufficient reason in this pretension to make Charles the Bold, Philip's heir, willing to satisfy this demand with a round sum. Casimir's son, another Ladislas, however, continued to style himself Duke of Luxemburg⁹ and so did his son, Louis II. When this last descendant of Sigismund was killed at the battle of Mohacz (1526), no one was left with a shadow of a right to contest the possession of the badgered duchy with the descendants of Philip of Burgundy who were henceforth allowed the exclusive use of the ducal title. Philip himself never assumed it, but Charles the Bold was Duke of Luxemburg as well as many other kinds of sovereign and from him it passed on to his posterity.

This much is plain from the story of the claims and counter-claims of the pretendants to Luxemburg. It was treated as a feudal family estate. There was little concern on the part of any one as to whether its ruler were French or German. In any case he owed homage to the Emperor for that particular holding. Such imperial interference as had occurred in relation to the Duchy had been made with reference to family interests, not be-

cause of the importance of the land as an outpost to the Empire.

Nevertheless, although it was little more than a piece of hereditary territory in the estimation of its sovereign lords, mortgagees, or owners in fee, as they might be, certain elements, once planted, continued in existence, and made the Duchy a political unit in the estimation of the people; those elements were fondly cherished and never forgotten, often as they were infringed.

Luxemburg was listed, officially, as one of the XVII. provinces of the Netherlands, to which the name Belgium was applied, yet in certain respects it resisted the efforts of its Burgundian rulers to make it one of a solid group. The provincial Estates never considered that they were bound by a majority vote of the States General meeting at Brussels,¹⁰ when an *aide* was in question. They were, indeed, not alone in their claim for the Duchy. Other provinces, as Friesland, Groningen, etc., also maintained that their provincial Estates had sole control of finances and that they were free from any *collective* action. Luxemburg was certainly tenacious in asserting her claim and it is repeated as late as 1600. Practically, it was of slight importance. The Duchy was as much ruled from Brussels as Brabant, but a shadow of difference continued to separate it from some of its fellows. It was not, however, the difference of being part of the Empire. It was simply an asser-

tion of individual rights. Yet as martial rule—though not so called—prevailed so often, legal privileges were of little account, except to soothe *amour propre*.

The House of Burgundy. There were only three rulers of the Burgundian line in Luxemburg. Philip's son Charles, the first to wear the title of Duke, died ten years after his father, in 1477, at the battle of Nancy, when he was trying to expand his estates into a kingdom. There was as little sorrow for him in the Duchy as there had been for the last *engagiste* in 1467. Luxemburg nobles had easily attached themselves to the gay Burgundian court, but peasants and burghers had found these peripatetic liege lords hard masters. They knew Charles mainly through his demand for spontaneous gifts, over and above regular taxes. The Estates voted him one of these so-called *aides*, which was to be paid in three instalments, beginning on January 1, 1472. Quotas were so slow in coming in that the Duke grew impatient and instituted a more efficient method of raising the desired sum. Instead of eight local tax gatherers, he appointed two receivers, one for the districts of Luxemburg, Arlon, and Thionville and one for Bastogne, Virton, Marville, and Damvillers. This arbitrary innovation was in line with the Burgundian policy of centralization and it never was well received. Local officials could understand and even sympathize with do-

mestic calamities and refrain from pressing the taxes at inconvenient moments, while receivers at points far distant from the native villages were not inclined to indulge in any such weakness. A non-resident sovereign with his head full of ambitious schemes was an infliction in more ways than one. When Charles the Bold visited the city of Luxemburg in 1473, he intimated in advance what festivities he wished offered in his honour and the burghers found it an expensive luxury, while the peasants who beat up the game for a grand *battue* were hard worked without recompense. He planned to return to the Fortress after the battle of Nancy. One tradition has it that his very last words on that fatal field were "*À Luxembourg.*"

Charles the Bold failed to make a kingdom or to leave an heir male to preserve the lands he held. His rival, Louis XI., took over the Duchy of Burgundy as a lapsed fief, covered by the Salic Law, and his daughter Mary, the last true Burgundian, carried the rest of his estates, including Luxemburg, to the House of Hapsburg, through her marriage to Maximilian, son of Frederick III. and later known as Emperor although never crowned. She died in 1483, the last of her race to live in Brussels as a permanent capital, and her son Philip's marriage to Johanna of Spain brought a wonderful heritage to her grandson Charles. The earliest designation given to him was Charles



MARY OF BURGUNDY.

From Contemporaneous Miniature Reproduced in Barante, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*.

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of Luxemburg, but all lesser titles, royal and ducal alike, were swallowed up in that of Emperor Charles V.

The imperial dignity did not fall to him unexpectedly as it had to Henry VII. of Luxemburg. His grandfather failed, indeed, to secure an election before his own death, but the intrigues and bribery that followed it before Charles defeated Francis I., King of France, furnish a remarkable story of corrupt practices. Francis had determined to break the Teutonic tradition and make the Imperium again of European instead of merely German significance. Henry VIII. of England quite agreed with him in theory while preferring himself as candidate. Charles's motives for desiring his own election were very high, as he himself states. "If the said election be conferred on our person, *as reason demands*, according to what has gone before . . . we will be in a position to ensure peace, repose, and tranquillity to all Christendom."

He was elected, but the result was not peace. It had been centuries since there had been war between Germany and France, but the fact that the Emperor's territories touched the lands of his defeated rival, Francis I. at many points, caused a series of wars which were not ended in 1555, when Charles V. abdicated and when Henry II. had succeeded to his father in France. During all the hostilities, Charles claimed that he acted simply on the defensive. He sought no new place

in the sun. "Oh God, I praise Thee that this war was not begun by me. . . . It is thanks to Thee that I have had given me the means to defend myself," are words in one of his prayers. It was invariably Francis, according to Charles, who forced hostilities.

In these wars, Luxemburg was never a bone of contention but it suffered seriously from raids. Otherwise the Duchy shared the general fate of the remainder of the XVII. Netherland provinces, administered in the Emperor's behalf by his aunt, Margaret of Austria, and his sister, Mary of Hungary, and resigned to his son, Philip II., in 1555. The status of the group of lands was materially changed by that event. Charles had made his brother Ferdinand, King of Rome—heir to the Imperium—in 1530 in order to have a personal representative in Germany when he was in Spain or the Netherlands. Later he repented this step and tried to induce his brother to give way to Philip so that he could succeed to all his father's dignities. Ferdinand was very positive in his refusal to set aside his own sons.

The Hapsburg line divided, Ferdinand being founder of the Austrian Hapsburg and Charles of the Spanish Hapsburg line. When Philip II. returned to Spain in 1559, the Netherlands were left dependent on the will of a purely Spanish sovereign. That was quite different from being the family inheritance of either a Duke of Bur-

gundy or of an Emperor. From that time on the link with the Empire as such, shadowy before, practically snapped for all the Netherlands alike, Luxemburg, of course, included. The fact that they had been formally made a circle of the Empire under the name of the Circle of Burgundy, never really affected them.

When the Netherlands revolted against Philip II., in 1572, Luxemburg remained with the Southern or Belgic provinces. Count Peter Mansfeld, appointed governor of Luxemburg at Philip's departure, continued in office through all the early part of the eighty-years war. His son, Charles Mansfeld, sided with the party of William the Silent, but Peter Mansfeld had no part in the anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish movements. Either his influence or circumstances held Luxemburg aloof from the rebellious states. But the Protestant movement had never made any headway in the Duchy, nor had they any considerable trade. Moreover the old local privileges protected them from the tenth penny tax on such commerce as existed. Politically Luxemburg was in the same position when the Peace of Westphalia ended the long war in 1648 that it was at the beginning. It belonged to the King of Spain and there were no provisions respecting it apart from the other Spanish Netherlands.

In the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Louis XIV. began to trouble the peace of all the

eastern frontier of France, alleging claims through female heirs to a portion of the Spanish provinces. In these attacks Luxemburg suffered continually and lost a section of the ancient duchy which has never been recovered—Thionville, Carignan, Ivoy, and Damvillers were all swept into France at that time. Then the War of the Spanish Succession gave the French King a pretext for occupying the whole Duchy, which was administered by French governors for a series of uneasy years. The general structure of the local government was not, however, changed. Only their taxes, such as could be collected, were diverted to Paris instead of to Brussels. But Vauban was at work on the fortifications at the time and probably the major part of the money was used there. The French occupancy was not to be permanent any more than it had been in earlier centuries. In 1711, the Bourbon grandson of Louis XIV. was at last acknowledged King of Spain by all interested parties and in consideration of such recognition, he ceded the Spanish Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria, another claimant to parts and parcels of the heritage of the Spanish Hapsburgs, by virtue of his own descent. In 1713, the Peace of Utrecht, in 1714, the Peace of Rastatt, made a new dispensation of the Belgic provinces. They were ceded to the Austrian Hapsburg line as a family inheritance—to Emperor Charles VI., the then representative of the line. At the same time they

were recognized as territory apart from the Empire. They were linked to Vienna by personal union only.

The reigns of Charles VI. and of his daughter Maria Theresa, cover the eighteenth century, from 1714 to the beginning of the preludes to the French Revolution. During that period, some member of the Austrian family was governor at Brussels. In 1780, Charles of Lorraine, son-in-law of Maria Theresa, finished his administration of twenty-six years. Naturally during this epoch the Belgic provinces were not kept free from various disturbances that occurred in Europe. They were exposed points and were dragged again and again into hostilities on account of circumstances alien to their own interests. Moreover on several occasions Maria Theresa thought of exchanging them for other lands. None of the projects were realized and the Austrian Netherlands pursued an existence that had a semblance of independence while their natural opportunities of development were seriously hampered by the treaties made between Austria and Holland, treaties which quite ignored local interests.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

1480-1780

DURING all the centuries under successive dynasties, with their sovereigns inaccessible to appeals, as they were rarely even at Brussels, the federal capital, the life of the people was meagre and without the stimulus of being connected with any large enterprises. Their existence was, as a rule, one of patient submission to the inevitable, whether at the hands of God or of man. They had no initiative to ward off calamity in either case. They could only endure. In the year 1488, unseasonable cold spoiled the crops. On June 1st, not a strawberry, cherry, nor grape blossom was to be seen! The price of wine rose to an exorbitant height. A drink was brewed from potatoes—an unwholesome beverage from which the consumers suffered seriously. In 1493 compensation came for the frigid spring in a year of such exquisite weather that all the world was joyous. This was the year when young Philip the Fair, son of Mary of Burgundy, reached his majority at the age of fifteen, and

received homage as Duke of Luxemburg. It chanced that his tutor was a native of the Duchy. Possibly he interested his pupil in the needs of the outlying province. Measures were taken to reorganize the finance, the police, the judiciary, while the miniature cities were accorded more self-government. Then followed many years in which there was little change, materially or spiritually. The sixteenth century found the region an essentially feudal land, slightly affected by new thought, clinging persistently to the protection of ancient privileges cherished tenaciously, in spite of infringement. The nobles were often absentees, while the burghers, peasants, and members of religious communities—a large element of the population—grew old under unprogressive conditions, rejoiced if only they were left to themselves. They accepted what they could not remedy and did not resent the tyranny of past ages. As late as 1590, one Peter von Oberelter and Elsa, his wife, bought a little property from Jacques de Raville—then Lieutenant-Governor of the province as successor to old Peter Mansfeld. The purchasers not only paid four hundred “little florins,” but entered into a species of serfdom with its regular dues, regular *corvées*, etc., while all transactions *in re* the property were subject to the seigneur’s approval. If a child married off the estate a cash payment had to be made to release him from service.’

In the sixteenth-century revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II., there may have been individual Luxemburgers who sympathized with the rebels, but there was no concerted movement in the Duchy. The obnoxious tenth penny tax did not touch them, owing to their exemption from collective assessment, and the regulations respecting religious observances were not necessary to keep them faithful to the Church. There was a brief period in the fourth year of the war, when an interim between the terms of Spanish governors gave the rebel leader, William of Orange, an opportunity which he used skilfully. The new governor of Philip II., his brother, Don John, was known to be on his way to Brussels and it was hoped that a strong union of all the XVII. provinces would be ready to confront him on his arrival. For the first time a meeting of the States General was convened at the call of the Council of Brabant, instead of that of the sovereign or his deputy. Luxemburg did not take much interest in the project. In the invitation, it was expressly stated that not only such provinces as had been accustomed to grant *aides* conjointly, but those called to Brussels on ceremonial occasions only, were earnestly implored to meet together for deliberation over the common weal. Money was needed for any common action, but Luxemburg was assured that any contribution she might make should not be considered as establishing a prece-

dent, nor her participation be allowed to prejudice her ancient chartered rights. In spite of conciliatory overtures, the Duchy failed to respond.² Various excuses were offered. So many nobles were absent from their homes that no quorum could be obtained in the Provincial Estates, which body alone was competent to send deputies to a general assembly, etc.

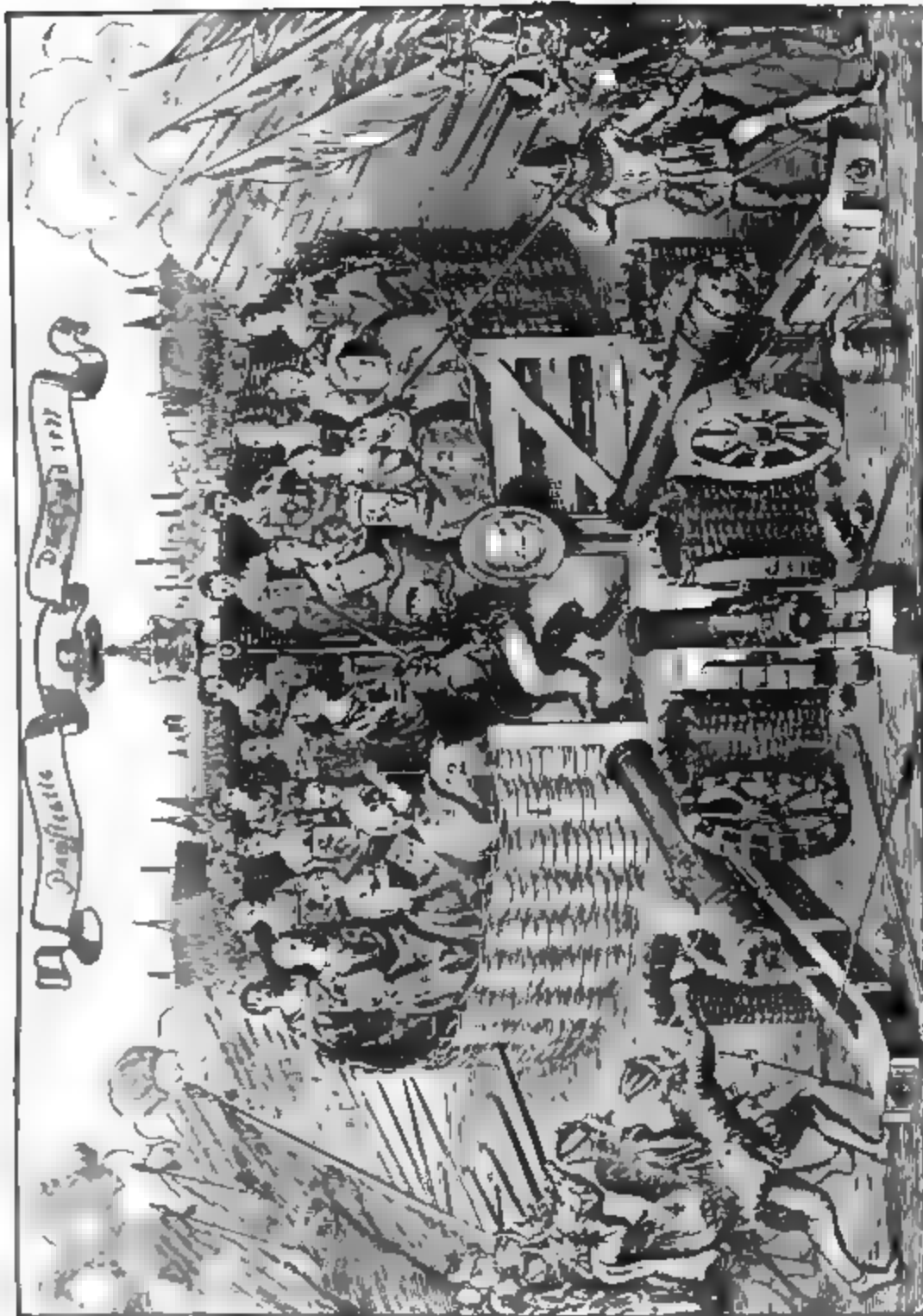
Then Don John reached Luxemburg and made it his headquarters whence he negotiated with the nationalist party at Brussels, who were protesting that they were ready to return to allegiance to Philip II., if he would make concessions, recognize a degree of Home Rule, and repeal certain obnoxious legislation. This youngest child of Charles Quint was an attractive personality. He was bent upon using gentler methods and repudiating the frightfulness that had made Alva's name a synonym for injustice and atrocity in the Belgic lands. His charm probably affected the Luxemburgers, whose sentiments were not repugnant to his determination to keep the Church paramount. Under the tactful management of William of Orange, indeed, it looked for a moment as though this determination had yielded and that a *modus vivendi* had been established whereby Protestant and Catholic communities could continue to exist side by side in the Netherlands. The compromise was commemorated in 1577 by a medal showing the traditional XVII. provinces,

each personified by a female figure, holding a coat of arms. The group is clustered together within a hedge, its entrance guarded by the Netherland Lion typical of the common weal in which all shared. Luxemburg holds the lion shield.

But the Union was of brief duration. The tolerant Protestant leader was unable to maintain an equilibrium. He could not prevent religious zeal and provincial jealousy disrupting the alliance for which reciprocal toleration was absolutely necessary. The two unions—of Utrecht and of Arras—were associations of kind. The seven northern provinces formed the Protestant republic. And Luxemburg was among the group henceforth known as the Spanish Netherlands, that passed to the Archdukes in 1598 as the portion of Isabella, daughter of Philip II.

From the outbreak of the rebellion in 1572, the southern provinces had been practically under martial law and had been administered by the general in command. It was expected that the Archdukes were to restore pacific practices and the loyal Netherlanders in Flanders, Brabant, etc., had counted on a restitution of representative assemblies which would give them a semblance of participation in the administration.

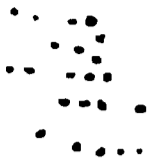
In 1600, the States General were duly convened. There were seven Luxemburg deputies in that gathering of 1600—three clergy, two nobles, and two burghers. But they had been sent reluc-



THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT, 1877.

The provinces are shown safe within an enclosure symbolising the Pacification. The Belgian lion guards the entrance.

Redrawn from a contemporaneous print.



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tantly. The Provincial Estates clung to the notion that the Duchy was privileged and they were more afraid of joint contribution to an *aide* than they were rejoiced to share in the deliberations. The Estates asked permission to make a specific statement of local conditions before any request for a definite quota were put forth. They hoped that their plight would save them from requisitions.³

The summary of their story is that for thirty-five years the Duchy had been exposed to raids and forced to provision troops, friendly and hostile alike. Details are given of the numbers fed and the charges met. The land is exhausted and will have to be abandoned in sheer desperation if no relief be afforded. The old claim of being unbound by any majority vote of the assembled provinces was reasserted emphatically, as a privilege recognized ever since the House of Hapsburg ruled over the Duchy.

The Archdukes were very pleasant and conciliatory in meeting this appeal, but held to an opinion that it was right and proper for Luxemburg to take part in the assembly because their interests, too, were involved in the questions to be discussed. "All very well," reply the petitioners, "but man cannot do the impossible." And they raised the oft-repeated chorus: The land is sterile, trampled down by many feet, estates are ownerless, the villages sucked dry by passing

troops, and—would not their ancient privileges be risked and they come under a majority rule? The details of tax collecting are pathetic. The officials are obliged to take wagons on their routes in which to carry off the sole assets of the delinquent—furniture and household utensils. Often nothing was left in the cottages but a *pot-au-feu* and its sole contents was water and salt—little enough to satisfy childish appetites! It was an ill reward for the unswerving fidelity to their sovereigns shown by the Luxemburgers. Besides one point ought to be remembered. The peculiar position of their land between belligerents had made their indirect contributions unusually large. If a contribution is to be forced, a census should, at least, precede it and a fresh appraisal be made. Many houses are in utter ruin. Any one who can still afford a carriage ought to be taxed as much as five hearths, and other luxuries in proportion—at one, two, three, four, five, or six hearths. This would make the burdens fairer.

In spite of all these good reasons against coming to Brussels, the Luxemburg deputies appeared when the session was opened and were very well received by Albert, the Archduke. Those who preferred were allowed to speak in their vernacular and they were ranked immediately after the Knights of the Golden Fleece. Moreover they were required to lift only one finger in taking the oath of allegiance, while the others had to lift

two! When their colleagues murmured at the differentiation, Albert exclaimed: "Why are you surprised? You have revolted against God and your King. The Luxemburgers have remained steadfastly true to God and their King. They may give me their troth with a single finger—Nay, with a wink of the eye."

After this assembly of 1600, all pledges to assemble the States General were ignored and the Archdukes used other means of raising money. Albert died, and Isabella carried on the government alone, and, knowing something of the people she governed, at last she decided that public opinion could no longer be ignored, and convened the States General for the year 1632.

From Luxemburg came two abbots, two nobles, and two burghers.⁴ This time there is no objection on the score of their ancient right to be exempt from collective grants. In Isabella's mind financial need was the excuse for the assembly. Philip IV. had objected strenuously to its convention, as he had a positive horror of any expression of public will. He termed all discussion as dangerous and a menace to law and order. It was only because Isabella insisted that there was no other way to obtain money supplies that he yielded the point, but continued to fill his letters with expressions of annoyance and of conviction that public opinion was something that no king should have any concern for. He could not understand

how the Netherland people could ignore his wishes! It was so very ungrateful of them when he, his father, and his grandfather had poured out such enormous sums in defending their interests!

The reason why the Luxemburg deputies accepted representation in 1632 was that peace seemed to be near and they were anxious to have a voice in urging the safeguarding of Catholic interests in any arrangements with the Dutch Republic. The deputies sat at Brussels for nearly a year and adjourned without giving the King of Spain the satisfaction he demanded, and without, themselves, obtaining the satisfaction of peace. The interest in the futile sessions lies in the letters written home by the Luxemburg deputies.

The proceedings were under the seal of secrecy, to be sure. It could only be stated in general terms that all were working together for the weal of religion, for the service of His Majesty, and for the relief of the provinces.

Still much incidental information is given. "You may believe that we have pointed out the misery and poverty that prevail in our land and the impossibility of extracting contributions from our people. But things are at such a pass that we must needs do the impossible or perish utterly. Namur is worse off than we are. Brabant is eaten to the bone. Artois, Hainaut, Lille, have been grievously harried by the troops of Don Carlos de Colonna and others. This past year, Flanders

has been ill-treated and torn to a marvel. The States General are, therefore, inclined to take offence at our excuses as if we were alone in our misery and are unwilling to give us the aid we need. . . . We have felt bound to agree to provide for six hundred volunteers in two companies of three hundred each. . . . Estimating the expense at five thousand florins a month this will be fifteen thousand for the three months, the king furnishing the munition. We trust that this will be satisfactory to them. The plan was suggested by certain deputies of other provinces when we said that we could contribute nothing. We might also let our volunteers go on campaign, in case they are not necessary at home. As we shall have to furnish that sum, settle our expenses here and our share of the expense of a deputation to Spain and to Maestricht, we think it will be necessary to tax every hearth four florins to add to the three thousand florins furnished by the ecclesiastics. . . . It will be necessary to raise the whole sum at once so that our contributions may be ready for our quota of the expense of the deputations and for the pay of the volunteers. Urge *Sieur Rynalls* to adopt this course of raising the money. If he refuses, find someone else. The hope of the truce ought to spur our people to this effort and they should be heartened by our pledge to prevent disorders on the part of the militia."

The peace negotiations at Maestricht that had

opened up a prospect of betterment were broken up by pestilence. As the New Year approaches the deputies suggest to their constituents that their cause might be furthered by a seasonable gift. "We think—saving better advice—that something could be accomplished with eight half tuns of well selected wine." Probably the wine was appreciated by its recipients, but after all, the business did not prosper.

Then the death of Isabella deprived the Netherlands of their best friend. She failed to found a dynasty, and prosperity was out of her power to ensure under the conditions of chronic warfare. But she did sympathize with the Netherlands as no one in Spain could possibly do. A strange personage she was in the religious garb that she always wore after her husband's death, leading troops and sharing in festivities. "In summer to war: in winter to weddings" was a gay phrase of her own, but in both pursuits she cared for public interests as far as she could. Her father's gift to her reverted to her nephew, and again the Belgic Netherlands became a Spanish dependency.

The land of Luxemburg was poor but it had much beauty. In the sixteenth century, the castles were still intact—castles that are now picturesque ruins—and looked down on little clusters of houses in lovely valleys—clusters that sometimes bore the name of *cities*, owing to a

charter bought from some needy overlord, while the actual number of citizens was very small. This Ardennes region, sometimes grand and even wild, sometimes gentle and smiling, watered by charming unnavigable streams, did not offer a good field for commercial enterprises and the burghers of the miniature towns were not tempted to launch out into large operations. The highest elevation was, indeed, but two thousand feet in altitude, but the heights and ridges were sufficient to prevent easy communication between places a little aloof from the roads, and those roads were, in the main, the very routes laid out by the Romans and were few although important. They offered passage from east to west and from south to north for many unwelcome visitors as well as for the packmen and travelling merchants, but there were few branches into the back country. The only river that provided passage to the outside world was the Moselle. On the east, though not adjacent, was the Rhine, on the west, the Meuse. The pretty little Alzette, the Sure, and a host of kindred streams were refreshing features in the landscape and useful for watering stock, but not contributory to the needs of trade. Nor was there much to export in the sixteenth century. Of the present Grand Duchy, the Gutland and the Oesling, only the former offered agricultural advantages. There cereals, potatoes, beets, flax, and hemp grew easily, and excellent, well-watered

pasturage was peculiarly adapted for stock raising. Of late years, it has been found that some sections are peculiarly favourable for rose-culture, but that was a luxury not dreamed of in the sixteenth century, any more than were the chief mineral treasures, whose exploitation in the twentieth century gives employment to large numbers of workmen of all nationalities. Still, even now, forests cover nearly one third of the acreage, and, formerly, wooded tracks were still more extensive.

The scenery of the wilder Oesling, now a lure to summer holiday makers, was not prized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lovely views were no attraction. The life of the people was essentially isolated and in marked contrast to that of the seaboard towns in its sister sixteen provinces, towns whence ships sailed out and in, weaving, shuttle-like, communication between men at home and abroad, bringing, albeit unconsciously, thoughts and ideas, like stowaways, in their cargoes. The dearth in Luxemburg of great markets and international fairs—there were small ones, of course—and looms as centres for the interchange of ideas and casual talk, left a stamp upon the people, whose intellectual and mental nourishment was chiefly restricted to what the clergy gave them, just as had been the case ever since the first appearance of Christian missionaries among the heathen and Roman altars. It is not strange that the Luxemburg folk remained

attached to the Catholic Church. It was always in their midst. It was the background of their life. Religion became a part of their being, because it was the most powerful intellectual force that penetrated their secluded environment.

Yet, curiously, while people were at one with the Church to a striking degree, there was no unity in regard to ecclesiastical authority. There was no correspondence between spiritual and lay civil jurisdiction. Parishes were supervised in a way to bring them under French, German, and Netherland ecclesiastics. The major part of the Duchy was within the diocese of Treves, but two hundred parishes were subject to the Bishop of Liège, forty to the Bishop of Metz, while a few were under the charge of the sees of Verdun and Cologne. Had the episcopal reforms of Philip II. been achieved, one of his new bishops would have had the whole Duchy under his charge. As it was the confusion and lack of unity in parish jurisdiction lasted into the nineteenth century in Luxemburg.⁵

After the death of the Archduchess, the Duchy suffered worse misery than that described in the briefs of 1600 and 1632. Troops from Lorraine, Poles and Croats ravaged the land in some of the insensate and useless raids of the wretched Thirty Years War. The inhabitants actually took to the woods rather than try to fulfil the exactions of their leech-like visitors. Pestilence added to the trials and in some sections carried off as much

as two thirds of the population, easy targets for the disease. Cattle, too, were attacked by the scourge. The army of defence was, at that period, more obnoxious than the invaders. Provisions could be refused to the latter but not to the former.⁶

In 1648 came the Peace of Westphalia and a wonderful body of politicians rearranged the dislocated affairs of Europe. The southern Netherlands were left in the peaceful possession of the Spanish sovereigns, but their northern brethren secured so many commercial advantages that the development of the loyal lands was seriously handicapped. The Dutch Republic was allowed to cut Antwerp off from free intercourse with the sea by closing the Scheldt and thus checking traffic up the river. Other navigable streams were also arbitrarily closed to commerce and the trade that might have developed along them stifled at birth. The Spanish Netherlands were forced to submit to artificial conditions. In all treaties their best interests were invariably subordinated to alien requirements.

In 1648, Luxemburg itself reaped less advantage from the peace made than injury from the fact that France and Spain had failed to come to an agreement. The Duchy was regarded as an outpost of Spain and suffered more from raids than when the chief fighting was on Netherland soil. There were complaints that nothing was left to the people

but *l'unique respiration de la vie*—simple permission to breathe! The priests were tempted to desert their charges and to leave the souls of their sheep to devil's wiles.

In 1658–59, a house to house canvass was made.⁷ The devastation revealed the extent of the depredations. In 1624, there were 95 “fires” in the capital city; in 1658, only 48¼. The quarter denoted a serf. In reckoning the poll tax, two serfs were counted as half a man. One tiny settlement had 15 inhabitants in 1624, of which only 1½ remained in 1659.

The “fires” or hearths became few, so that 218 in one provostship in 1624 had fallen off to 79 in 1659; the 266 of another to 96. More than 380 villages had been completely abandoned. The few people who held fast to their localities were overwhelmed with debt, and thus crippled in any effort to improve their condition. It took two centuries for the Duchy to recover, even partially, from the terrible Thirty Years War.

In 1659, the Treaty of the Pyrenees settled matters between Spain and France, but the wretchedness in the Duchy had reached such a pass that little relief was experienced before the next phase of warfare. Strangely, too, when there was an attempt to revive industry, local jealousy was allowed to put up artificial barriers. In some way a cottage manufacture of ribbons and passementerie trimmings gained ground in a few

of the more enterprising Luxemburg villages. Small machines were introduced on which one person could turn out as much as sixteen who used ordinary tools only. At least that was the claim urged by the deans of the guilds in Antwerp, Brussels, and Ghent. They complained that silken and filoselle articles, manufactured on machines and small mills, had been put on the market to the serious injury of their trade, that bread was taken from the mouths of honest Flemish workmen who were forced to seek other employment! This remonstrance was made in 1664.⁸ The answer was a royal placard of November 27th of that year, wherein the use of mills and machinery was strictly forbidden in Luxemburg. Nothing fabricated on them could be sold within the Spanish Netherlands. If such sale were attempted, the wares and machinery were subject to confiscation, one third of the proceeds of the sale to go to the State, one third to the informer, and one to the agents who did the work! Such was the legislation in behalf of protected industries. Certainly the methods were not of a type to encourage enterprise. The one industry that began to flourish was that of iron, there being thirty-three forges in the Duchy in 1661, but the number did not increase during the following years.

Improvement was so slow and the people so utterly miserable that at last the Provincial Council appointed the Virgin Mary as special tutelary



THE RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF USELDANGE

From De Cloet's Voyage Pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas.



saint of the city. There was no dissentient voice when the vote was taken on September 27, 1666. On Sunday, October 10th, of the same year, a solemn consecration of the little image that was to personify the new guardian was celebrated in the presence of the Prince of Chimay, then governor, of the civic magistracy, and an immense concourse of people from the surrounding country.⁹ A simple and fervent faith really actuated the majority of the unhappy peasants, ill-treated on every side by the hand of man. The fête was very splendid but relief from the stress did not follow.

It was not long after this that Louis XIV. began to make incursions into the Duchy, although it did not, territorially, fall within the inheritance he was claiming, by the law of Devolution. Then he laid siege to the Great Rock and while the nobles were trying to repulse his troops in one place their castles were burned in another. "Lady-bird, lady-bird, fly away home, your house is on fire, your children will burn!" hid a dire warning under its lighter aspect. The ruined castles in Luxemburg date from this period when Heidelberg suffered a like fate. The Luxemburg fortress was spared destruction because the French King was intending to use its strength to fortify his own defences, as Vauban was well able to do.

Louis had no idea of conquest, when he put forth his just claims to parts of the Netherlands.

"We do not intend that Peace shall be infringed in any way by our advance into Belgic lands, although *à main armée*, because we are only on the march to take possession of what has been usurped from us."¹⁰ His notion of what was justifiable in times of peace was, perhaps, more satisfactory to himself than to his neighbours.

When Luxemburg finally yielded to the besieging French, the valiant garrison was allowed to march out on June 4, 1684, with colours flying and drums beating. But there were only four hundred survivors of the four thousand who had begun the resistance. Thirty-seven thousand bullets and ten thousand bombs launched by the invaders had done their deadly work. In France, rejoicing at the capture of the Great Rock and its city burst out into jubilation and song.¹¹

It was assumed that *Lux* was the root of the name in order to do honour to the brilliant King.

Luxembourg, par son nom, est ville de lumière
 Mais ce nom ne lui donne un éclat sans pareil
 Que lorsque, pour briller de sa clarté première
 Vaincue, elle se rend à Louis, son soleil.

Fier Luxembourg, maintenant pitoyable,
 Contre Louis vous n'avez pu tenir,
 Consolez-vous d'un sort inévitable.
 Vous vous trompiez de vous croire impugnable,
 Mais en ses mains, vous l'allez devenir.

Luxembourg denotes a city known for Light,
But to its name it owed no great *éclat*
Till, yielding to the Sun King's might,
It blazes near and far! etc.

The French King was anxious to benefit his new possession and tried to restore the land to a more habitable condition by bringing in artizans and manufacturers. Many inducements were offered to advantageous immigrants, while ancient privileges were confirmed, and bridges were promised to facilitate communication with the other Netherlands. Moreover the Sun King came himself to see the city in 1687 and to assure "his people" of his gracious interest in their welfare. The clergy were pleased by edicts against heresy, although they were scandalized at the suggestion that taxes were to be imposed on their order. Louis XIV. needed their contributions as they formed a large quota of the inhabitants remaining in the depleted Duchy. The exodus that had taken place was from among the more energetic people who still had sufficient initiative to better themselves, while the lay householders who clung to their poor possessions were too poor to make a move and consequently too poor to give substantial aid in the taxes. As the French acquisition of the territory was piecemeal, many communities had changed allegiance several years before the fall of the capital sealed the fate of the

Duchy, and finances were in a terribly confused state.

And they were by no means disentangled when French domination ended and the Duchy was reattached to Spanish Netherlands in 1697 in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick. The statements made by the Provincial Council in reply to a demand for a contribution to help pay the Elector of Brandenburg show that matters had gone from bad to worse and that more obligations could not be undertaken in the face of the universal hideous poverty. The clergy raised a considerable sum as a free gift but more could not be scraped together although it was still all too little to reimburse the Elector of Brandenburg for his aid against Louis XIV. A mass of details were collected to prove that the Luxemburgers were at the end of their resources. Food was very scarce—there was not sufficient for home consumption. Many masters had dismissed their servants because their larder was bare. Others were in debt for the seed that they had had to import as there was none at home. If the inhabitants were to be kept loyal to their native province, detached and isolated as it was, some appreciation of their needs must be shown or the land would be utterly deserted. If men had no property except their axes and mattocks, it was easy for them to cross the frontier to a place where peace prevailed and

whither they were lured by promises of benefits and exemptions.

When the later political shift came, and the provinces were formally handed over to the Austrian Hapsburgs, February 5, 1716, the same complaints were reiterated. The burghers were greatly preoccupied in seeing that Charles VI. confirmed all their ancient privileges. For instance, the city keys had always been entrusted to a civic militia divided into seven companies. When the new Austrian military governor demanded their surrender to himself, a long correspondence ensued. The burghers rehearsed the history of their city from the days of Ermesinde, passionately protesting against any infringement of what was their due.¹²

The nobles, too, did not let the change of dynasty pass without a reassertion of their ancient rights, in regard to their regulations respecting election, although they had to yield on an executive order from Vienna and vote openly instead of by secret ballot as they preferred. They were very particular in their insistence that the name of Luxemburg should always be given proper precedence in any list of what were henceforth known as the Austrian Netherlands—there were no more States General in which *actual* precedence could be demanded.

The change of administration was not really very marked from what it had been before the

French period, as Austrian archdukes had been governors at Brussels in behalf of their Spanish cousins, but the first Austrian commandant in charge of the fortress brought such a large body of troops with him that frequent difficulties arose between them and the burghers, especially as there was no more active war to absorb their energies. Among them were bakers, shoe and hat makers, dyers, butchers, tobacconists, and soap makers, and they sold other wares as well as brandy, not only within the barracks but openly throughout the city. As these unlicensed vendors paid no import duties, they undersold the others and absorbed trade, to the ruin of the guilds. Moreover these hucksters succeeded in sheltering themselves behind the General Staff and other officers. Fair competition with them was impossible. The guild masters implored the intervention of higher authority and the enforcement of ancient ordinances on the subject. "Let the soldier live on his pay and the merchant on his trade," was the cry.

Such were trade troubles at the beginning of the Austrian régime, under Commandant Gronfelt. There were other complaints in regard to one of his successors who bore the somewhat ominous name of Baron Unruhe. A letter, dated April 26, 1723, from the President and Council of the city to Emperor Charles VI. reveals his relations with the citizens as well as their conservatism.¹³

“We feel bound to report to Your Majesty the irregular conduct of Colonel Unruhe. About sixty years ago, this province elected and chose the Virgin Mary as patron of the land, under the title of Consoler of the Afflicted. Her image stands in a chapel near the ramparts of this capital, much venerated and renowned from the miracles that are performed there. The Council and the Estates applied to Rome to obtain approval and indulgence, which were accorded in an efficient Bull and since then a fête or solemnity has been held on the fourth Sunday after Easter. On the eve of this day a procession goes to the chapel and brings the image of Our Lady into the city. On Sunday, a service is held and repeated during the octave and on the following Sunday it is carried back to the chapel in grand procession in which, usually, the suffragan bishop of Treves takes part, together with all the clergy and a great crowd not only from this province but from Lorraine, France, and Treves. This Council, as a body, is always present at the Mass. When the governor of the province is here, he leads off and the election vows are renewed. Everyone has his appointed place. Nevertheless, yesterday when we entered the Church, in a body, for Holy Mass, we found that Colonel Unruhe had preceded us and had taken the place appropriated to our governor when he is present and, in his absence, to our president; and as we did not wish to make a scene in public, nor

to have an argument in the presence of a crowd of people and many strangers, we withdrew, persuaded as we are that Your Majesty will do us justice and will order Colonel Unruhe not to intrude on such occasions, still less to take a rank on himself and put himself at the head of the Council. The seat belongs only to the governor general or, in his absence, to the president, according to the ordinance and institution of this Council by Emperor Charles Quint of glorious memory. No officer in command here has ever dared to pretend to it in the governor's absence."

Civil rights were upheld by an order to the Colonel to refrain from taking the seat unless he were specifically ordered to represent the governor at some ceremony. Unruhe was never popular in Luxemburg and there are frequent instances of other conflicts between him and the burghers, who seem to have recovered to some extent from the depression of the long period of warfare and to be trying for rehabilitation as a semi-independent state. They are unwilling to submit to any extortion without violent protest. The census of 1727 shows an improvement. The city now counts one hundred "fires" while the devastated villages have begun to be restored. The Duchy took on new life under the Empress Maria Theresa and her deputies at Brussels. The Netherlands and especially Luxemburg were always more flourishing with a woman at their head.

The disadvantages from which they suffered were those of trade restrictions which prevented all natural development. The seaports of Flanders were artificially closed by the treaties with the Dutch Republic and that choked the whole land, while the Barrier treaties brought other hampering annoyances to any kind of national growth. Had the project of an Ostend Company been successful, trade in the Belgic provinces would have felt the advantage of a new outlet, and an inland region like Luxemburg would have profited thereby. As it was the whole congeries of provinces were swaddled in restrictions made by their overlords to obtain some advantage elsewhere. Their interests were always subordinated and thus the people were kept back.

PART II

From the French Revolution to 1914

CHAPTER III

JOSEPH II. HIS AMBITIONS AND HIS FAILURES

THE modern history of Luxemburg may be said to begin on November 29, 1780, when the death of Maria Theresa made her son Joseph sovereign in her hereditary Hapsburg possessions in the Belgic provinces. Under his régime, the Austrian domination in the Netherlands gave way before the beginnings of a political independence—beginnings that were stifled, to be sure, but never forgotten. In all the first part of the story, the fortunes of the Duchy are merged in the general fortunes of the group of provinces and it is their story that must be told as it is an integral part of the history of Luxemburg.

For over thirty years before the accession of Joseph II., Charles of Lorraine had been governor at Brussels in behalf of his mother-in-law—a popular and successful administrator, identified with the interests of the region. One of the last official acts of Maria Theresa had been to appoint her daughter the Archduchess Marie Christine and her husband, Albert of Saxe-Teschen, to the post vacated by the

death of her son-in-law, which preceded her own by a few months.¹

Christine and Albert were designated as *les gouverneurs* and were jointly responsible for all acts, just as they had been in Hungary during fifteen years. They did not like the change from the Hungarian capital, Pressburg, to Brussels, as it turned out. In Hungary they had enjoyed considerable prestige and independence, besides having an agreeable circle of personal friends. In the Brabançon capital, conditions were less pleasant according to some passages of letters written by the Archduchess to her intimate friend,² the Princess Eleanor of Lichtenstein, which may serve as introduction to this episode of Joseph II. and Brabant. The letters are dated November 22, 1783, and March 28, 1784.

“It is a real joy to me to be remembered by my friends. I assure you that in these three years, I have not found a single woman with whom I could be intimate. The prevailing spirit here is one of egoism, of private interest, and of intrigue. It is impregnated with characteristic French faults. The people are certainly witty and amiable, but they are frivolous and incapable of true attachment. They count friendship as mere state furniture, indulge in much eloquence in their speech while having no feeling in their hearts. . . . I am alone the greater part of the day. My incomparable husband gives me love and devotion, but

I cannot ask for his constant presence. He frequents the city, goes hunting or takes walks; I urge him to all this as a man cannot live without distraction. I receive the visits of the Brussels people, but they can be counted [they were so few], so that books are my sole amusement. How lucky you are, beloved Princess, in having children who are so thriving, yet I praise Providence for not giving me any. I should only be the more miserable."

The underlying reason for Christine's dissatisfaction and loneliness in Brussels arose from feeling that her brother did not allow her the freedom of action to which Maria Theresa had destined her. Joseph II. was determined to be supreme in the Belgic Netherlands as elsewhere in his dominions. Inspired with a zeal for reforms according to his own conception of what was needful, he brought about a revolt against Austrian sovereignty. As a preliminary step to carrying out his schemes, he began by reducing his sister's authority to that of a figurehead, and she resented the fact even before she realized its extent.

At first sight the young Emperor seemed to inaugurate his separate reign in a wonderful fervour of desire to do the best for his people and to enhance the glory of his empire in a truly rational fashion. During Maria Theresa's lifetime, Joseph had never felt himself a free agent. He

was in tutelage although he was an elected Emperor and she but the sovereign of the hereditary Hapsburg lands. Her force of will was, however, so great that he had continued to defer to her authority and, usually, to accept her dictum with filial obedience. Rather plaintively he had told Marie Antoinette that he felt like "a fifth wheel to the coach." Emancipated from subordination by his mother's death, Joseph fairly bubbled over with far-reaching plans, born of his reading in eighteenth-century French philosophy and economics and of his deep-seated conviction that he had a heaven-appointed task. He suffered from intellectual indigestion, having read in an untrained fashion. He drank in theories and wedded them to the belief that he himself was above law, *solutus legibus*, from his divine right. He was especially anxious to have first-hand information about all portions of his empire and concerning all classes of his subjects. And this was a desire that he had cherished for many years and which he had indulged by journeying around his domain as much as he could, considering his mother's great anxiety about the dangers to which he was exposed when travelling *incognito* as he liked to do. As early as 1774, he began a holograph letter to Count Belgiojoso, Austrian ambassador in London,³ with the observation that the latter would undoubtedly be surprised to see his own handwriting but that he had a plan that was not to be

talked about. "This is the point; you know that my circumstances sometimes permit me to take certain excursions that I try to make profitable for seeing and observing the provinces of the monarchy, and, as far as I can, of its neighbours: now, indubitably, the Netherlands must have their turn; I have even reserved them for the *bonne bouche*. Nor would I care to stay in Flanders without seeing Holland." He adds that he would greatly like to have a glimpse of England too and wonders if it could not be managed in some way. He would not wish to ignore the royal family, but he would not be willing to have their hospitality and friendly intentions frustrate his primary object of seeing land and people. His preference would be to go *en fraque, baton à la main* in simple fashion. Like an ordinary tourist, he asks questions about details which would help him make the best of a brief sojourn in a foreign country. How about learning English, for example? He would rather not take the time for that if he could dispense with the knowledge.

For the moment the journey proved impracticable. For the *bonne bouche*, the titbit of the Netherlands, Joseph waited, indeed, six years after writing the above letter, but he never abandoned the project. When he ratified his sister's appointment to the charge at Brussels, he bade her postpone her departure until he himself had looked over the ground. He felt that he could

see more if there were no resident governor when he made his visit, nor did he wish to seem to spy upon his deputies. The Emperor was not, however, ignorant of local conditions in the Lowlands. Under the direction of his minister Kaunitz there had been compiled elaborate memoirs upon their government, their institutions, ecclesiastical, financial, economical. The report on the last was written by Count Mac Nény in 1760. Councillor de Wavrans and Baron de Cazier were responsible for the reports on the ecclesiastical and financial conditions, respectively. When Joseph was still a young man these expositions had been read and, to some extent at least, studied by him, thus twenty years before his journey.⁴ But he wanted more. "It is the sole region of my Estates, of which I have no local knowledge," he wrote in 1781, while he was making active preparations to depart. In January of that year, he took special pains to be up to date in his knowledge of then existing legislation by ordering that all the weekly and monthly protocols, *in re* Belgic affairs, issued from the offices at Vienna should be sent to him. "In order not to duplicate writing, send me the originals, with the corrections just as they are. After inspecting them, I will return them immediately to the department." Many of his preparations were made quietly as Joseph had some qualms about the propriety of a tour so soon after his mother's death, but he asked much advice



PLAN OF THE CAPITAL.

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under cover of confidential communications. Still the news leaked out and the journey was an open secret long before the traveller set out as "Count de Falkenstein"—an incognito that failed to render its wearer unknown as he passed through Frankfort, Heidelberg, Treves, and arrived at Luxemburg on May 31, 1781. He declined all honours and ordered that no troops should be allowed to greet him as he entered the Hapsburg domains. Nor would he use his own castle of Luxemburg. The Hotel of the Seven Swabians provided his lodging and his first act in the capital was to beg all citizens to extinguish the candles lighted in his honour. "Any expense incurred on this occasion was disagreeable to him." On June 1st, he reviewed troops at 6 A. M., and then proceeded to inspect the fortifications with minute care, and expressed himself as satisfied with their condition although he was critical of the garrison. Nevertheless he distributed 568 ducats among the men.

His energy was untiring. Arsenals, casernes, and all quarters were visited, the Emperor chatting in a friendly manner with the privates and tasting their soup and their bread. "I have given three days to the details of this place," he wrote to his minister Kaunitz. "I have reviewed the troops and conversed with employees and peasants. The soil and certain circumstances are adverse to the well-being of this province; in regard to the former,

nothing can be done; as to other points, there can be improvement. Certainly some changes in the judicial system of Luxemburg seem to me eminently desirable and necessary." Here was a Duke of Luxemburg who meant to fulfil his obligations! And he by no means limited his investigations to official communications. Besides receiving the civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities, he insisted on admitting to his presence everyone with a petition to present. It is reported—and as high an authority as Gachard accepts the report—that he said to the provincial Council of Justice: "I wish, Messieurs, that you could read my heart; therein you would see how it suffers at not being able to render everyone happy. Be assured that I am working with all my force to arrive at that end."s

Every one of the petitioners was told that his grievance should be carefully investigated and that an answer should be given later. The majority touched on the delays in legal settlements. Prince Kaunitz wrote to the Emperor in reply to his comment on the judicial system: "I imagine that the amelioration in the judicial system of Luxemburg, mentioned by Your Majesty, would bear on the multiplicity and perhaps also on the delay of the trials in that land, which are partly owing to the spirit of national chicane [pettifogging] and partly to the greed of the advocates, who abound in that province and contribute not a

little, as I observed a long time ago, in making the people, just as the Liégeois, like a kind of Normans of the Netherlands. I am persuaded that an ordinance, more or less in the line with Your Majesty's enactments in this land [Austria] adapted to the provincial constitutions, would be beneficial, and if I am not wrong in my conjectures, I could submit suggestions for Your Majesty's approval."

June 3d was a Sunday, and Luxemburg was *en fête* for the visitor. Joseph attended Mass, taking his place among the crowd of worshippers, refusing to go upon the dais erected in his honour. After the service, he received the Abbé de Feller, curé of the parish, and gave him a roll of one hundred ducats for the poor. On that very day, a young Luxemburg painter, Pierre Maisonet, a pupil of Brother Abraham of the Abbey of Orval, asked permission to take the Emperor's portrait. The busy investigator really had not a moment to spare for a sitting, but he graciously permitted the artist to sketch him as he was dining. It may be remarked that even meals were treated cavalierly on this journey. Joseph ordered his dinners to be movable feasts. They were to be ready at two o'clock at the successive inns and kept warm until he was ready. Often the repast was not served until six, when the day's work was finished.

And then, on June 4th, the traveller passed on his way, laden down with a mountain of state-

ments of what his Luxemburg subjects wanted. Perhaps he made a warmer impression there because the city was the first to which he gave his attention on that famous journey. He certainly seems to have won all hearts and Luxemburg was not among the insurgents six years later.

In the early years of Burgundian and Spanish sovereignty, the person of the duke under his various titles had been more or less familiar to the people of the seventeen provinces. Albert and Isabella, too, successors to Philip II. and duly appointed rulers in their own right, had of course been known by sight to many, even if all the smaller places had not an opportunity of personal knowledge. Since Albert's death in 1621, no sovereign had set foot in the region. For 160 years, therefore, the personages actually responsible for their well-being had been but a name. To the Luxemburgers, the vision was peculiarly welcome and they cherished the memory faithfully, never losing hope that their visitor would remedy all the ills they had pointed out to him. In Brabant, he was welcomed even more eagerly than in the Duchy because they wanted more of him. And by so much more were they disappointed in the final outcome of Joseph's sojourn amongst them.

The opportunity of carrying grievances to the fountain-head of authority was eagerly seized upon all along the Emperor's line of travel. The stream of petitions continued to pour into every

temporary headquarters as he progressed on his way. At Antwerp there were passionate appeals to him to look to the needs of the city on the Scheldt and to take the shackles off the river. A local poet thus addressed him:

Sois le restaurateur de mes antiques droits,
Et de mon lustre éteint ressucite l'aurore.
Daigne, daigne briser ces funestes liens,
Qu' Amsterdam a forgés de ses avarés mains:
Songe que de mes flots interdire l'usage,
Au droit des nations est un cruel outrage,
La nature en appelle à ta sage équité;
D'Anvers ne permets plus que le port déserté
Reçoive vainement mes liquides caresses:
Mais que mon onde enfin, plus libre dans son cours,
A mes chers Anversois porte autant de richesses,
Que leurs cœurs font de vœux pour tes augustes
jours.⁶

Numerous pleas in plainer language added their persuasions to this effusion and Joseph had no reason to doubt that the closing of the river to commercial enterprise was, indeed, a cruel injustice to his commercial subjects.

At Malines, Cardinal de Franckenberg made a request which evoked less sympathy. He implored the Emperor not to admit dangerous religious toleration into the land, to maintain the relations then existing between the religious bodies and their superiors, and to forbid the reprint of Voltaire's

writings. As Joseph was profoundly convinced that he had fathomed all theological questions and was fascinated by Voltaire while recognizing the need of a State Church, he was little inclined to listen to the Cardinal's entreaties. He was so proud of his liberal views and of having introduced measures for doing justice to Jews and Protestants in other parts of his domains, that he did not take time to understand the situation in this quarter of his realm, where there were, practically, no Protestants and where there was singular unity in faithful attachment to the existing hierarchy of the Church. He had imbibed certain theories of education without understanding all its phases, and conceived of himself as perfectly qualified to legislate authoritatively on all questions of Church and State. The ecclesiastical system, as he conceived it, was to be subordinated to him, not to a foreign authority.

On his journey, he refused to lodge in convents as well as in palaces, even when they were convenient. Hotels were his choice as being more democratic and leaving him freer to act with perfect independence.

Wherever it was possible, he would inspect educational institutions, would address the professors, look over laboratories, libraries, etc. Often he found apparatus and equipment seriously out of repair and was full of suggestions as to their restoration, while he did not stint promises of aid.

In Brussels there was much disappointment at his lack of pomp. He would go out, dressed in plain grey, in a hired coach. And how he did work! Besides his close application to every detail affecting Brabant, he endeavoured to keep in touch with the daily routine of business at Vienna, writing to Prince Kaunitz about details in every department, between his indefatigable examination of factories, mints, and works of all sorts. In relation to religious functions he excited some criticism. It was thought that he affected the philosopher overmuch. Evidence of a more fervid devotion would have been preferred. His slight bow in the Mass was not felt to be sufficient when other worshippers were kneeling. He was proud to show the breadth of his views by going to a Quaker meeting house and to a synagogue as well as to Mass. And he was wholly indifferent to the fact that this was not an attitude of mind that appealed to his subjects in the provinces. He was so sure of his all-wisdom!

His final departure from the Netherlands was on July 27th. In a few days less than two months he had mastered every detail of their condition—at least that was his own opinion. On August 15th, he rode into Vienna again.

An interesting question is: Did the Emperor ever wade through that mass of petitions accumulated in his distant domains? Perhaps he made selections sufficient to gain a fair idea of all. They

covered nearly every phase of human life and are a pathetic record of optimism and despair. For instance, one woman has a marvellous remedy for cancer and other ills and thinks she should have a reward for her services to humanity. That document is endorsed, "The poverty in which the suppliant is proves that her pretended secret, no matter what she says, has not made good in the public estimation"—a comment proving that her claims had received consideration. Her remedy was not the only one offered for cancer, which must have been a prevalent disease. Then there were many authors who appealed to Joseph for the reward for their productions denied by an unappreciative public. One man asks for the sum of 18,882 florins to establish a model farm between Bruges and Ghent, also in behalf of the public weal, and so it went. With the best will in the world the Emperor would have found it very difficult to satisfy all these petitioners and undoubtedly there were many who decided, after a period of hope deferred, that princes were no more able to recognize true merit than the fickle public.

There is no doubt, however, that Joseph kept in mind what he had himself noted as needful for the welfare of his Netherland subjects, pending a fitting opportunity to remedy defects in the institutions. For some years his hands were not free to direct the reforms he contemplated. The relations between the two groups of Neth-

erland provinces, the Dutch Republic and the Austrian provinces, strained at first, came to open hostilities and were not adjusted until 1785 when the Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed on November 8th, between the Dutch Republic and the Emperor. This brought peace but failed to fulfil all the hopes of the Belgic cities. The Scheldt was not opened to free traffic, although the freedom of the other rivers was assured.⁷ Flanders was restored to the boundaries of 1664, while the frontiers of Brabant were advanced towards the north and greater liberty was secured in the regulation of customs and trade, setting aside some of the stipulations imposed at Münster which were all to the advantage of the Dutch. The humiliating treaties of 1715 and '18 were annulled, the Barrier forts, so long maintained by Dutch garrisons, were evacuated, and some territory was acquired beyond the Meuse. The provisions were good as far as they went, but, curiously enough, side by side with his successful schemes for the betterment of conditions within the provinces, Joseph was nursing other projects whereby all responsibility for their welfare should be shifted to other shoulders. He had reverted to an old scheme of acquiring Bavaria as a suitable outpost for his Hapsburg lands. A secret treaty was struck at Munich (January 15, 1785) providing for the exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria with certain modifications of the frontier,

arbitrarily defined without respect to the inhabitants. Salzburg was to be added to Bavaria, while Limburg, Namur, and the Duchy of Luxemburg were to go to the Bishop of Salzburg as compensation for the lost See! There were other details, interesting as evidence of the assumption of the sovereign that he was free to dispose of a Duchy as a private estate, but not needful to examine as the project failed of execution. The other European Powers had a word to say. On July 23d, a league, a *Fuerstenbund*, was formed among certain princes for the express purpose of preventing the proposed exchange. The fate of Luxemburg was thus temporarily in jeopardy and again the patient Duchy was left as an integral part of the Austro-Belgic provinces, destined to experience with them the social convulsions that were imminent.

It was after the failure of this project of readjusting his frontier that Joseph recurred to his plans for reforming what he had noted as the chief defects in the Netherlands. In order to have a perfectly free hand and to be able to issue his orders from Vienna without using the governors as intermediaries, he appointed Count de Belgiojoso as his minister at Brussels, who was to be responsible to him alone. Christine and her husband soon found that Belgiojoso was in closer communication with Vienna than they were. They had already felt vaguely that they were designedly kept

ignorant of the Emperor's intentions and this appointment was a fresh proof of Joseph's intentions. While conscious of flaws in their position of authority, from the beginning of their administration, the Archdukes had, nevertheless, endeavoured to gain the confidence of their subjects and to win personal popularity such as their predecessor had enjoyed. They went so far as to be naturalized in the land. The document in which they ask for *Brabantization* is curious. It looks as though they anticipated the coming revolt against Austria and wished to go on record as being with the Netherlands heart and soul. The language used is not official, the style is not elegant, the spelling is faulty, and there is no formal expression of courtesy at the end as would have been usual. The signatures are simply *Marie, Albert*.⁸ The application was presented to the Estates of Brabant, May 15, 1786.

The undersigned declare that they have acquired a possession in Brabant which they love dearly as well as they do the inhabitants in general, and they would be charmed to belong to them more closely still by being received among the number of native Brabantons, and as they believe they can flatter themselves that the friendship of the Estates (who must accord the adoption), at present in session, would not refuse their wish, they have believed that they could address their assembly with confidence, and give them at the same time a mark of the most perfect consideration,

in demanding very cordially their votes for the accomplishment of their prayers, otherwise always directed towards the well-being of a country which is infinitely dear to them.

The resolution of the Estates states that "the prelates, nobles, and deputies of the chief cities, representing the Three Estates of Brabant, have unanimously consented to and accorded the *Brabantization* desired with all possible joy; in consequence of this, the serene persons of their Royal Highnesses were henceforth to be regarded as Brabançons; moreover patents of Brabantization shall be presented very humbly to the princes in a gold box, bearing the arms of the province. The presentation is to be made by a solemn deputation of the Three Estates."

By the time that the Austrians thus declared themselves as belonging to the land they were supposed to be ruling, the proposed reforms, as ordered from Vienna, had been taken in hand. On July 26, 1785, after the abandonment of the Bavarian scheme, that is, Joseph wrote to Belgiojoso:

"When we are once more sure of tranquillity, serious thought can be taken for the salutary ameliorations necessary for the Belgic provinces, which I have had to leave dormant since the commencement of all the troubles. The essential points are reforms in the judiciary system . . . entire reformation in the enormous abuses that

exist in the administration of the Estates and the cities, radical reform in the execrable methods of education in vogue at the University of Louvain, reforms in ecclesiastical affairs both as regards the number of parishes and, for the cessation of all abuses still existing, the erection of a general seminary, the abolition of the brotherhoods and of the mendicant orders, the reorganization of hospitals and old age foundations as well as schools for the education of the youth. These, my dear Count, are objects that I noted during my sojourn at Brussels. Some changes have already been inaugurated, but they should be completed as soon as peace is established and we are free to unify the parts and bring them to perfection, persuaded, as I am, that we are doing a meritorious work."

Adding to the above suggestions the plans for making the clergy national and subject to the State rather than to Rome, we have Joseph's intentions clearly outlined. His reforms were to be of three kinds: ecclesiastical, administrative, and judicial. Certain radical changes were introduced gradually, such as an important one on tolerance, followed by others which interfered with church usages dear to the people. In October, 1786, the first large educational project was put into execution by the establishment of a General Seminary at Louvain with a branch at Luxemburg. These institutions, supervised by the State, were to supersede the small episcopal semina-

ries which existed all over the land. There was protest at these measures, but Juste states that Joseph did not actually overstep his sovereign prerogatives until the edicts of January and March, 1787, which changed the form of government in vogue since Charles Quint. In the name of centralization, the administration was altered, the permanent deputations of the local Estates were suppressed, and the ancient judicial system was completely overturned. He thought he was simply weeding out useless growths and his brief tour of inspection had not taught him how deeply rooted the usages were in the hearts of the people. Juste points out that many of the innovations were excellent and have been accepted since.¹⁰ But Joseph acted as an autocratic sovereign and in total oblivion of the pledges made when he exchanged oaths with his Netherland subjects at his accession. What to him had been a pure formality, to them had been a solemn recognition of legal rights, rights which were ruthlessly set aside in 1787. In his endeavour to prevent the overlapping of institutions and to place all government on a simpler basis, Joseph, convinced of his own all-wisdom and general benevolence, was completely taken by surprise when his measures were ill-received by the beneficiaries.

The first actual riots took place when the main general Seminary was opened at Louvain. Troops were called in to suppress the disturbance, and the

students, dismissed to their homes, carried off seeds of discontent which were scattered all over the country. Belgiojoso was inclined to think that the disorders were being incited from France where the first rumblings of the Revolution were beginning to be heard, but he felt their force and finally agreed with the Archdukes that public opinion was too strong to oppose with any safety. It was by order of all three that the most unpopular of the edicts were withdrawn on May 28, 1787. The concessions were made when Joseph himself was away from his capital and could not be reached without long delays. When he learned what had been done, he was very indignant and summoned both the Archdukes and Belgiojoso to Vienna to account for putting local opposition above sovereign dicta. The minister was not permitted to return to Brussels with the governors. Count de Trauttmansdorff was appointed in his stead, while General d'Alton superseded the Commandant who had failed to enforce the edicts by military measures.

There was a deadlock between Joseph II. and the Netherlands and the former continued to cherish the belief that it was a simple matter of overcoming prejudice with no more realizing sense of the depth of the breach between him and them than Philip II. had had in 1572. The new minister accepted his charge very reluctantly as he doubted his ability to satisfy the Emperor, now

thoroughly out of patience with the conservatism of people who preferred obsolete methods to his well-thought-out radical reformatations, all intended for their good or for the obvious advantage of the State of which they were a part.

Trauttmansdorff made heroic efforts to execute the Emperor's will, while General d'Alton had no objection to the "blood letting" that the exasperated reformer recommended. "He is one in whom I recognize sufficient firmness and intelligence to manage the business," wrote Joseph.¹¹

Every point in regard to the opposition at Louvain was peculiarly annoying to Joseph who failed completely to understand the questions involved in clerical education. He warns his minister not to credit any professions of attachment to him. "It will be a generation before the base ingratitude is forgotten, and there must be no more yielding! Believe '*sic volo, sic jubeo*' must now be your devise."

After a few months of strenuous endeavour, the minister reports (March 20, 1788) that there is going to be more trouble. The Provincial Estates are threatening to refuse a subsidy asked for. Possibly the opposition is due merely to a few hot-heads who are "feeling the government's pulse" to see how far they dare go. The best course is indifference. He reports the university as carried on by beat of drum with few students but more are hoped for after Easter.

The branch seminary at Luxemburg had been set in motion with less opposition than the main school at Louvain, but the students were not entirely docile, even there. When there was difficulty in finding an efficient director for the main institution, Trauttmansdorff thought of transferring the head from Luxemburg, and then learns that the administration had not been wholly free from imprudences. A more promising person was found at Ghent "who is going to make a success of it";—an over-optimistic assertion, however. The school proved an utter failure. No military force succeeded in keeping the students at their books, docilely preparing for an educated priesthood.

Thus governmental and educational machinery was clogged. In the hopes of bringing the Estates to give a majority vote for a needed subsidy, Joseph resorted to the expedient of extending the franchise to the small cities, previously completely overpowered by Antwerp, Brussels, and Louvain, hoping that the newcomers would accede to his will from gratitude. He declared that taxes should be collected by force of arms and an end be put to "these eternal insolences." Nothing really helped to stay the storm of that year 1789, disastrous to Maria Theresa's children.

Yet from time to time the repressive measures seemed successful and both Emperor and minister as well as General d'Alton were repeatedly con-

vinced that they were victors and that their firmness had dissipated all refractoriness. In the early spring of 1789, Trauttmansdorff feels that he has not only triumphed but that the very record of the contumacy of the Estates has been cast into oblivion. He writes on March 3rd that he succeeded in making the Estates of Brabant expunge from their minutes the record of all "the impertinences that they had permitted themselves to indulge in. . . . The states had to sit for four hours countenancing the erasure of what they had enacted during a space of two years and which they foolishly regarded as monuments of glory. Today they are convinced of their feebleness."

These complaisant words were written in March. On June 18th, the Estates were again convened. The presence of troops under General d'Alton proved insufficient to awe the deputies into an endorsement of annihilation of their ancient charters. An Austrian official appeared before them and proceeded to read an ordinance which suppressed all the provincial charters, including the cherished *Joyeuse Entrée*. It was the existence of these charters of rights and privileges in the Low Countries that sharply differentiated the Revolution of Brabant from that of France. The document known as *la Joyeuse Entrée* was the most important of these. It dated from 1355 when Wenzel of Luxemburg—son of John the Blind—and his young wife, heiress to Brabant,

made their entry into Brussels and solemnly swore to observe all the provisions of the charter drafted by Jeanne's father with due deference to his subjects' wishes. Its articles were regarded as making a bulwark to protect not only Brabant but the affiliated countries from undue encroachment by their sovereigns. Modified and enlarged, the charter was accepted at the beginning of every reign. Like all his predecessors, Joseph II. had taken a solemn oath to maintain it. One clause definitely provided that a sovereign failing to keep his part of this contract could be deposed. The Emperor forgot that and thought it was easy to toss this parchment aside by his simple mandate. And his representatives in Brussels were equally oblivious to a step that was like an electric shock to Brabant.

After the announcement of the imperial order the Estates were dismissed. General d'Alton described the day (June 18th) as a happy one for Austria, the Emperor then becoming absolute master of the provinces. Trauttmansdorff, too, was elated, although he begged d'Alton "not to crow before he was out of the woods." Further he is anxious that Joseph shall know who are his friends in the land. He writes on July 1, 1789:

"SACRED MAJESTY,

"I must not delay letting you know that according to the intimations I made privately to the .

Estates of Luxemburg, Limburg, and Namur, deputies of the first province came to offer to Your Majesty an agreement for a permanent and fixed subsidy and their credit for a loan of 200,000 florins. It is not absolutely impossible that we may succeed in the two other provinces, but I do not dare count too much on Namur where there is always a little more ill-will, and what is more, a bishop. At Limburg, the disposition is good, but being *lié* with Brabant, they may not dare follow the dictates of their sentiments.

“Here all goes perfectly well. For two years, I have not enjoyed as much tranquillity as I have during the last fortnight. The ill-intentioned have gone under and act only in secret. The health of the Emperor is drunk bravely and not a word is said of the Estates. The payments are made to a marvel.”

Ten days later the minister adds that his despatch can be compared to the *Te Deum* of a general who has gained a battle from which he does not expect to profit. “Thus it is with me. The Council is abolished, the Estates are virtually so, too; the source of opposition is vanishing, but it is necessary to content oneself with hoping fervently that there will be no fresh opposition. It is a happy revolution but it may be necessary to strike while the iron is hot.”

The minister has many points still to discuss with his chief and is inclined to make certain

concessions in order to keep matters perfectly smooth, but that success has crowned the efforts of himself and d'Alton, he has no doubt.

Joseph is pleased with the friendly attitude of Luxemburg and the other two provinces and writes (July 15th): "If you can think of something which I might do to show my satisfaction with the Estates of those provinces, I authorize you to do it or to tell me what it is."

This exultation was almost pathetic, for success was really very far from being attained. The boasted tranquillity was a mere phantom. Under the surface, discontent with Austrian methods was a seething force and the trend of events in France was like a live wire with which connection was inevitable, sooner or later.

As late as August 10th of that momentous year, 1789, Joseph was still flattering himself that all was well on the Scheldt, but his minister had wakened to reality. The stream of refugees coming from France was a disquieting sight. Different as were the original causes of protest against authority on opposite sides of the frontier, a spirit of imitation made the manifestations very similar. "Our park, streets, and houses are plastered over with posters with the words 'Here as in Paris,'" writes Trauttmansdorff.

An attempt to tear down the placards aroused popular indignation. Cartoons were rife in the style of the one showing "Aristocrat attacked by

the Brabant patriots because he had destroyed a poster,"¹² and a few are preserved in the successive numbers of the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, that short-lived serial publication edited by Camille Desmoulins and named under the illusion that the two movements had more in common than was actually the fact. It was difficult for the French, struggling as they were to throw off hereditary shackles to realize that the Brabanters already possessed certain guarantees of protection from unlawful acts of their sovereigns which they regarded not as idols of the past, but as substantial bulwarks for the present crisis, precious legacies from their ancestors, and that these neighbours were quite willing to accept and cherish many things regarded by the French republicans as obsolete. In Brabant, the rebels being thus the conservatists, the clergy were with them in sharp contrast to the increasing secularity of the French movement. While the French were clamouring for lay education, the Belgians feared it as a means of corrupting the youth. Indeed, they were indignant that lay schools were not rescinded together with other obnoxious regulations in the last concessions which Count Cobenzl made in Joseph's name (February, 1790)—concessions that entirely failed of their object. The Archbishop of Malines replied to a fervent appeal from the Archduchess that he should help calm the agitation, that it was quite beyond his power:



REVOLUTIONARY LAMPOON. GENERAL D'ALTON CHASED BY
THE PATRIOTIC LANTERNS

From Despatches Rec'd de France et de Prochain

"Independence is proclaimed everywhere; authority is attacked from every side; moreover, the unheard-of cruelties committed by the military at Ghent have so embittered and irritated public feeling that whoever would undertake to propose any plan of reconciliation would be at once regarded as a traitor to his country, subject to the proscriptions already decreed and the object of public scorn." The prelate added that gentle methods and pledges might have been effective at the outset but that it was too late. He was sorry for the plight of the Archduchess but really he was unable to help her. She continued to grope feebly after peace. Another general was brought in to replace d'Alton and to try what could be done by greater firmness, side by side with conciliatory measures. Methods of sun and wind failed alike. A couple of thousand troops under Van der Mersch defeated d'Alton's trained Austrians. Archdukes and minister were forced to retreat. The civil and military governor took shelter in Luxemburg and the Duchy was thus the last stronghold of the Austrian Hapsburgs as it had been for the Spanish nearly a century earlier, while the Archdukes withdrew to Bonn. The adhesion of the Duchy to the Hapsburgs was purely personal. It had nothing to do with the Empire.

A retreat was necessary, for, spurred on by France, the Netherlands had taken decisive measures to sever political relations with the

Hapsburgs, and no Austrian was safe except in this one quarter of the provinces. On November 30th, a certain pensionary of Ghent, one J. F. Rohaert showed the city council two scraps of paper without address, without date, and without signature—*deux chiffons de papier sans adresse, sans date, et sans signature*. These contained a draft of what was made a formal act of union between Flanders and Brabant. Three weeks later the Council of Brabant wrote to the various Provincial Estates announcing that this Federation had deposed Joseph II. from sovereignty over them and inviting participation in a session of the States General, where measures would be taken for an independent government for the sometime Austrian Netherlands. The result of this summons sent out on December 20, 1789, was an assembly at Brussels of deputies from Brabant, Flanders, Hainaut, Guelders, Namur, West Flanders, Malines, Tournai, and the Tournaisis on January 7, 1790.¹³

In the election of these deputies, the time-honoured custom of nomination of candidates by close corporations was observed. This system evoked much criticism in France, Desmoulins declaring that nothing could be more comical and that it was manifestly absurd to count the assembly as representative of the people of Brabant. Here was an example of the difference between a people starting out for radical reforms and one protecting ancient rights but of a mediæval character.



REVOLUTIONARY LAMPOON. GENERAL D'ALTON DANCING A JIG, TO THE AIR OF "LES VOLONTAIRES BRABANÇONS."

From Desmoulins' Réc. de France et de Brabant

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There was, however, a flavour of the American Declaration of Independence in the preamble of the articles of federation adopted on January 10th by the self-convened deputies. "The pact which ceases to bind when it ceases to be reciprocal was formally broken by the sovereign. And what remains then to the people but the natural and indefeasible right, given by the pact itself, of opposing force to violence—a right to take back an authority that had only been conferred for the common weal and with so many precautions under stipulations and reservations so definite?

"That is what has been done, and it is in accordance with these principles that the various provinces declare themselves free and independent. Heaven has visibly blessed an enterprise formed under its auspices. But it is not sufficient to have knotted together an ancient union; it is necessary to consolidate the relations, to render them durable." Then follow the articles. This body was much like the one which had founded the Dutch Republic two hundred years earlier. The voting was by provinces, but no Luxemburgers were among the representative signatories. The Duchy thus lost the chance of being part of the Brabançon Republic.

A standard was displayed with the legend—*Propter injustias tuas transferentur tua regna.*¹⁴

Joseph wrote to Leopold on January 4th: "The Low Countries are lost. I am assured that the

rebels have promised the King of Prussia, leagued with England and Holland, not to make any accommodation with me but to form a new republic under the ægis of those powers." The Emperor could not believe the provinces were strong enough to stand alone. And in his opinion that the whole revolutionary movement was simply the work of foreign foes, he was sustained by Trauttmansdorff. That minister had serious difficulty in getting away from Brussels. He declined to make use of certain vehicles for fear of being accused of hampering the troops for whom they had been destined. "The consequence was I saved nothing more than the clothes on my back; all my personal effects, all my furniture were lost. Count d'Alton, more prudent, more collected at the moment of departure, had six vehicles for his baggage . . . and did not lose so much as a shirt." Thus he wrote on December 15th. He defends his own actions passionately, declaring that he had repeatedly warned the Emperor of the menacing danger, especially that threatening the provinces from without. "I had the honour to tell Your Majesty that the revolution in France would rebound on us . . . and I have often regretted that Your Majesty had so little information of what was passing at Berlin, at The Hague, and at London; for I have noticed that he doubted certain little reports that I have been able to give him occasionally."

“May Heaven grant that Luxemburg hold out,” was the departing prayer of the minister and that desire was fulfilled, as already said. At the same time they made their own reservations. “The Estates have just assembled to offer unanimously to Your Majesty their aid in levying a legion of 1500 foot and 500 horse; they will promise twelve florins a recruit and will furnish horses from the province which will cost them 800,000 florins, counting each horse at 168 florins, the common price in the province. They request Your Majesty not to use the said regiment against Brabant except for the defence of the Province but against any other foe.” Thus wrote the Austrian commander at Luxemburg on November 30th.

All the officers were to be Luxemburgers and there were other stipulations. The name was to be “*Légion de chasseurs volontaires de Luxemburg*” and they were to carry the colours that the Luxemburgers love.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVOLUTION WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES OF BELGIUM

THE Declaration of Independence robbed the deposed ruler of a few weeks only of his sovereignty in the Belgic Lands.¹ On February 20, 1790, Joseph II. died, a thoroughly disheartened and disappointed man, who never understood why his beneficent plans for his people's welfare had failed of their mark. The refusal to accept his excellent plans was simply inexplicable! A pamphlet entitled *Il Diavolo in Vienna* drew his picture in lines so very different from his own conception of himself as the intelligent benefactor of his divers peoples! And he was, indeed, almost a man of weight in his century. But he toiled in vain.

To the hereditary Hapsburg estates, the Emperor's brother, Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was heir. In September he was elected Emperor, so that he was eventually successor in all the fraternal dignities. This son of Maria Theresa held different views from his senior and,

before his actual accession, had taken pains to publish his opinions to the world at large so that all might read the plain statements of his political platform. The new United States of Belgium paid, however, little heed to the Austrian sovereign who was claiming to be their legal overlord. They continued to make their own arrangements without the slightest reference to him. The last unit to enter the federation, Limburg, did so a month after Leopold's accession. In spite of patent proofs of the tenacity of the rebels, Marie Christine and Albert, spending the winter at Bonn, were sure that republican ideas would be speedily abandoned in the face of Leopold's evident beneficent intentions in their regard, and that his disaffected subjects would greet him with open arms "if the vertigo which had seized the majority did not cloud their vision."

The ground for this hope was that Leopold had declared for a type of liberalism far more consonant with the general trend of Belgic opinion, than were the "Josephine" schemes. In his first manifesto, he expressed his disapproval of his brother's acts, practically recognized that the charter of the *Joyeuse Entrée* conceded the right of revolt if the sovereign failed to keep his part of the contract solemnly sworn to on his accession, and acknowledged that a sovereign existed for the weal of the governed. This theory of political liberalism was, moreover, allied to a spirit of

devotion to the Church which made it evident that Leopold would not be inclined to separate the Pope from his flock by forced state intervention, while neither would he, like Joseph, be inclined to be hospitable to all creeds. Such tolerance was full of danger, as the faithful held.

The theory of an implied contract between ruler and ruled and a recognition of ecclesiastical supremacy in things spiritual—what opinions could have suited the case better? Yet there was no immediate readiness on the part of the incipient Republic to yield, as the Archduchess hoped there would be.

During the summer of 1790, the process of organization went on. A Congress was made the executive body of the Belgic United States for the time being, the presidency being held by the provincial units in turn, the order decided by lot. Its powers were what the States General chose to endow it with and many were the discussions before the rather clumsy machinery of state was set in motion. The Congress indulged in no holidays, but sat every day from 10 A.M. to 2 P.M., while the States General met in their collective capacity as delegates of the individual provinces, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 5 to 9 P.M. The members of the two assemblies were practically the same, only different functions were exercised in the separate sessions.

Among the revolutionists, there were two dis-

tinct parties, besides four or five smaller groups whose leanings inclined them one way or the other with varying shades of conviction as to the right methods to pursue under the new conditions. Henri Van der Noot, an advocate, was the leader of one of these main parties, called "Vander-nootists" after him, or "Statists," from their platform, which held tenaciously to all the customs, privileges, and immunities cherished by the people in the past. The priests were with them and made a strong element. The other party, styled "Vonckists" or Progressists were led by another advocate, Vonck. Van der Noot looked for aid from without and based his hopes primarily on Prussia. This was a point that excited sharp criticism from the French journalist, Camille Desmoulins, who wrote: "Can any good come from Prussia? Is not a wolf a fine shepherd for a flock of sheep? Men of Brabant, my very dear brethren, do you think that an oppressor of liberty in Holland is likely to be a restorer of liberty to these (Belgic) Netherlands? If the uncle, a philosopher, could inflict so much injury on humanity, what would you not have to dread from the nephew, who is an *illuminé*? The military forces of the King of Prussia number 207,224 men. Only we pamphleteers and journalists could rout so many regiments."

The French republican is very anxious for the success of the Belgic revolution. "Generous patriots! may you, like Washington, crown with success

the glorious enterprise which you commenced as he did! The greatest happiness in the world is not to reign and found an Empire, but to make the foundations of Liberty."² Desmoulins is sure that the Belgic cause and the French are really the same in spite of the initiatory theologic bias that characterized the former. To his mind the whole issue is simply one between monarchs and peoples, between Royalty and Democracy, and one to be fought to the finish with all the force that the latter can summon. "Undoubtedly the prayers of the good Quakers in America who are appealing to Heaven in behalf of the Brabanters will bring down victory on the colours of the patriots! Ventimille's regiment, which so distinguished itself here in the Revolution of July 12th, has almost to a man crossed to Brabant to second the prayers of the Quakers. A crowd of youths have already gone, animated by similar zeal. I am told that General La Pique brandishes his lance and talks of leading 5000 from the Faubourg St. Antoine to aid the Brabançons. In his place, I would not hesitate a moment. (The citizen chosen by the Faubourg for its leader for the march to Versailles was dubbed General La Pique.³)"

It is to the French and to their opinions that the second main party turned for sympathy. The Vonckists, markedly in the minority, however, agreed with Camille Desmoulins that the aims of the two revolutionary movements were funda-

mentally the same and that the work could be done in common. They modelled themselves on the French and desired to follow their lead instead of simply trying to hug more closely the antiquated customs and ideals of their ancestors. Especially were they anxious to make representation really democratic instead of being selective in accordance with the ancient system of electing deputies to the Provincial Estates and States General.

At one moment in the spring of 1790, when Van der Noot began to despair of aid from Prussia, he, too, turned to France, but his method of appealing to Louis XVI., still held in his place nominally as constitutional king, and to the Assembly, failed to achieve recognition. The King refused to receive any communication from rebels to his Austrian brother-in-law. When two private citizens brought letters to the Assembly the incident was reported as follows in the official organ.

At the morning session of March 17, 1790, the president, M. Rabaut de St. Etienne, gave the substance of a letter addressed to him by M. de Montmorin. M. van der Noot had sent the King a packet reported to contain the declaration of independence of the Belgic provinces. This Louis had declined to receive. Now two private persons had appeared as envoys of the Belgic peoples bringing two letters addressed to the National Assembly and to the President, respectively.

Neither had been opened. The King still withheld his permission. What was to be done?

It was early in the morning. Mirabeau and other important members had not yet arrived, but the Marquis de la Fayette was present. Moreover he had come prepared for the discussion, and at once drew from his pocket a written speech, "brief enough to remember" as Desmoulins says. It was as follows: "No Frenchman, no friend of Liberty, will refuse praise and good wishes to the Belgian people; but it is necessary to consider two points in relation to the letters before us: to whom are they addressed and by whom?" He proceeds to explain that he did not think that the Congress at Brussels was a stable or a valid body, able to act, and that he is quite willing to accept the opinion of Louis XVI. on the matter! Then M. Petrus de Villeneuve asks to be heard. Others propose an immediate vote. M. de Noailles says that their own affairs are too important for them to give time to a foreign matter. After a long and tumultuous agitation, the Assembly passed to the order of the day.⁴

In the *Moniteur*, there are no comments. In Desmoulins's paper, the editor gives vent to his own opinion in no gentle terms. He is highly indignant at what he deems La Fayette's cavalier treatment of a people struggling against autocracy and at the refusal to recognize Belgic independence. Justice, Wisdom, and the dignity of the

National Assembly demanded that the letters should have been received. "Since France had recognized in 1777 the independence of the Americans, it was the height of pusillanimity and of opprobrium to be afraid to reach out a fraternal hand to the Belgians.⁵

"No, it is not you, M. de la Fayette, who could have written the speech drawn from your pocket and not from your heart. Once before I heard you speak for more than an hour to the people; you can express yourself with more clearness, more purity, more dignity. It is not your style and still less your doctrine that I hear you profess. . . . Is it Washington, is it a hero, is it a Frenchman who can use such language?"

And more comments of this nature are uttered by the editor concerning a man whom he had once felt it an infinite honour to have as a subscriber to his serial. He cannot understand how a direct message from one people to another *could* have been treated so contemptuously: "It is incredible that M. de la Fayette who is so affable, who has his hat constantly in his hand and salutes the whole world, could have been so rude to two envoys of a nation as to put them out of the National Assembly by their shoulders."

La Fayette's motion was worded as follows: "The National Assembly, after consideration of a letter of M. de Montmorin, addressed to its president, wherein the minister announces the King's

refusal to open a letter written in the name of the Belgic States, as the domestic situation of the Pays-Bas and the acting Congress do not appear to have the character which should emanate from the sovereignty of the people, declares that it [the Assembly] could not do better than to leave the matter to the wisdom and the well-known sentiments of the King."

All that La Fayette did in response to the appeal of the petitioners was to write a pleasant but vague letter to the Belgic Congress, while he continued to doubt whether it were anything more than a provisional body, hardly competent to negotiate with a foreign Power. It is rather difficult to explain his insistence on referring the struggling aspirants for independence to Louis XVI. and it is not astonishing that his attitude towards them excited the indignation of a radical reformer like the editor of *Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant*.⁶ But it must be remembered that, in the spring of 1790, La Fayette was still straining every nerve to keep France as a constitutional monarchy, and he may have felt bound to uphold the King's opinion where he could in order to retain the fiction of Louis's being the chief executive of the State.

Or, again, it may have been that his lukewarm interest in the incipient federation over the border was due to the fact that the party of Van der Noot, the then petitioner, was not the one with which he

sympathized. He may have been holding back until the Vonckists, who wanted to abandon the conservatism of the ancient provinces, were strong enough to form a close alliance with the French and to adopt the principles of the Revolution. This much is clear, however,—La Fayette was trying to steer a middle course, and by so doing lost the adherence of men like Desmoulins, impatient at his moderation.

As a matter of fact, the federation which defied Joseph II. in 1789-90 was not strong enough to persist. Factionism ate into the structure and wrecked the hopes of the Democrats, those of the ancient and the modern school alike. One of the charges against the Statist party was, indeed, that they did not understand what true Democracy was, that they held persistently and wrongly to the old units of cities and of provinces, and that the popular voice was disregarded as completely as it had ever been. Statists and Progressists came to blows with each other, and the common foe with a force under General Bender finally won the day. On June 15, 1790, the Archduchess, Marie Christine, and Albert returned to Brussels in their old capacity of governors; on the 30th the inauguration of Leopold was solemnly celebrated. Count Metternich was appointed minister to the government, which, by the 27th, was supposed to be on the footing that it had been under Maria Theresa. At the same time, matters were not by

any means settled at these dates and fighting continued. Patriotism was not dead in Brabant and there were still many volunteers ready to protest, but they were so untrained to obedience and so badly organized that they were useless against the skilled Austrian troops. "Ah, if they would only give me 10,000 volunteers who did not insist on acting voluntarily and would resemble the Romans or those Belgians whom Cæsar had to fight; then, before a month was up, the Austrians would be swept out of Luxemburg." Thus wrote the editor of *Le vrai Brabançon*.⁷ But the desired contingent of "Cincinnati" as they are called elsewhere were not forthcoming; at last a kind of compromise was struck with Leopold and his son was accepted as a ruler with constitutional limitations.

Luxemburg was not represented in the States General, but as it had continued in unbroken allegiance to the Hapsburg family it, too, was covered by the following action of the States General; returning, in part, by that action, to its ancient obedience.

The States General of the united Belgic provinces, in session extraordinary in the city of Brussels, nominate unanimously, by acclamation, his Royal Highness, Archduke of Austria, third son of His Majesty, the Emperor, hereditary sovereign and Grand Duke of Belgica, in conformity to the resolution of this day and with the express reservation of the ancient constitu-

tions, the fundamental laws, rights, and usages of the nation and of each particular province; of this the public shall be informed by a manifesto to be published immediately.

Done at the Hotel of the States General, November 21st, 1790, at 11 P.M.⁸

N. F. J. MARRANNES,
President.

The hour at which this decisive resolution was passed showed that action was taken at some heat. It was the best that could be done at the moment. The new ruler was to be closely identified with local interests. The evils of an absentee sovereign were to be avoided and the charters were to be respected. Naturally this procedure excited bitter opposition among those who had no desire to take half measures. Van der Noot and Vonck both fled across the frontier and tried to keep up centres of agitation at Douai and at Lille, respectively,⁹ but they were no longer important factors to be reckoned with.

Camille Desmoulins is very scathing in relating the downfall of the Republic that had begun so proudly. "The soldiers of the patriots pillaged the shops at Brussels and fled before the boots of General Bender, who marched into Brussels as if into his own house, without knocking at the door and found slaves awaiting him." After relating more that hardly redounded to the credit of the patriots he adds: "The return of the Belgians

under the Austrian yoke has deprived me of half the title of my Journal; but it will not be easy to lose the title of '*Révolutions de France*.'¹⁰ It must be avowed that what has happened in Brabant is a terrible argument against Theocracy."

And the remaining thirty-one numbers of the Journal, had, indeed, no section marked "Brabant."

During all the existence of this federated Republic, Luxemburg had, as already said, remained in the hands of the Austrians. Trauttmansdorff, Cobenzl,¹¹ and others had continued to date their letters from the city. Probably had the federation bowl been stronger, not only would the story have been longer but Luxemburg would have joined the wise men. But the independent Republican era was over before the Duchy was ready to take that leap. The ducal Provincial Estates, loyal to Austrian authority and interested in local needs, went on with their work, apparently paying little attention to the revolutions in either France or Brabant.

Somebody, possibly one Lambory, deputy from Houffalize, took his own minutes for the session of 1791, filling fourteen of the twenty pages of a blank book with the record. Some chance preserved the book in the château of Houffalize where it was discovered by M. Goffinet and published.¹² The entries imply a singular aloofness from the stirring events of the decade. The

deputies were giving all their thoughts to making both ends meet. The debates covered road-making and mending, educational matters, charity, local trade regulations, etc. The town of Marche asked for two schoolmistresses. "Refused for the present" was the endorsement of their very modest request. There was a petition for the removal of export duty on grain so that the merchants could expand their trade, and another for an increase of import duty on nails for the protection of nail-makers. Other tradesmen feared injury to their shops from the colporters, and a degree of redress was given to them by a prohibition to Jews and to foreigners to bring their wares to their customers. The Estates were quite ready to agree that the theological schools should be reopened as well as bridges built and other needful improvements made in the region, but it is noticeable that nearly every request that called for an appropriation of public moneys is endorsed "Refused" except in a few instances where a portion of the sum asked for is granted. A few phrases only indicate a state of war. To the request of the Capuchins of Luxemburg for the evacuation of their convent by the military, the answer is, "This must await the perfect re-establishment of tranquillity." It is easy to infer from glancing over the points discussed and noting the endorsements, *Granted*, *Refused*, or *Postponed*, that the administration was very hard-pressed

for funds and reluctant to assume any obligations that could be avoided. The body was composed of the abbots of St. Hubert, Echternach, Münster, and St. Maximin, in the Ecclesiastical Chamber, nine counts and barons in the Chamber of Nobles, and fifteen representatives of towns as the Third Estate.¹³

As one of the last pictures of the ancient government at work, the little *cahier* is delightful. There is something very personal about it. All concerned in administration are close to the work. They all belong to the soil, each in his own rank. There is a very different attitude towards the people than is to be seen when the administrator-in-chief of local affairs is a French agent.

After their return to Brussels, July, 1791, the Archdukes made every effort to establish cordial relations with the people. In some quarters they were well received, because personally they had been liked, but their attempt to reinstate affairs on the old basis was a Sisyphean task. They made a tour through the provinces to receive homage in behalf of Leopold, this time not omitting Luxemburg. The faithful city was illumined, the burghers gave public feasts where the new Emperor's health was drunk with all the manifestations of loyalty. The Archdukes tried to ignore the late unpleasantness and it almost looked to the superficial observer as though the months of conflict between the Netherlands had been

obliterated. But the genius could not be replaced in the bottle and Leopold encountered fierce opposition where he had expected pleased acquiescence in return for his lenity towards the contumacy of his subjects. "The Estates refuse the subsidies but I am going to put an end to this. I have done every single thing demanded by duty and by conscience; I have evinced all possible gentleness and moderation; I have fulfilled all the constitutional requirements of a Duke of Brabant,—but if all this does not satisfy, I will proceed to force. They shall find the people against them and my troops."¹⁴

Leopold was conscious that the strongest pressure for rebellion against Austria was coming from France and he was determined to avert it, if possible. "I understand the state of affairs. I am convinced that neither Prussia nor Holland, who is on good terms with us and ready to sign a treaty, is meddling; perhaps England would if she could do so undetected, but the French and the committee at Lille [Vonck was there] are certainly at work. I am convinced that the clergy, too, are secretly exciting the Estates to opposition, in order to keep the Vonckists from coming to the fore and to prevent their complete defeat if the French system were to be introduced. I am convinced that Van der Noot, Van Eupen, Van der Mersch, Vonck, the Barnaves, and all agree. An explosion is to be expected; one must be constantly on guard

and give no opportunity for it; if, however, it breaks out the movement must be suppressed with military force."

Thus wrote Leopold on the last day of the year 1790.¹⁵ Again did his sister find life very difficult at her post. There was no one to back the regents. The minister, Metternich, was the only collaborator at hand in good health, and in him they had little confidence. The newly appointed sovereign was down in Italy and elsewhere, delaying the assumption of his charge. The Archdukes thus were almost deserted throughout the winter of 1791 and felt lonely and anxious. Christine was keenly distressed about Marie Antoinette's failure to escape from France. "You will have heard that they were stopped hardly four miles from the border; if they had only taken another road, they would have been safe like Monsieur and his wife. I am inconsolable about my sister and her innocent children."¹⁶

Leopold hears that while the King was checked in his flight, the Queen and her children had reached the Netherlands. When the real truth reached him he was in great anxiety, too, and made every effort to persuade the allies to make a concerted attack against France. "No action will be effective except in common with all the Courts," he writes (July 20th). The result was the meeting at Pillnitz. In relation to the *émigrés*, the Emperor tells Christine to be polite, but to remain aloof

from their schemes, to give them dinners but neither money nor troops.

A writer in the *Moniteur* says that the worst fault that Austria could have committed was to permit the *émigrés* to be at Brussels at all. "To receive among a people emerging from an unfortunate insurrection men fleeing before a successful revolution showed little wisdom. History will be right in reproaching Leopold for his imprudence."

While admitting the fugitives to his Belgic domains, Leopold ordered steps to be taken to keep out dangerous and inflammatory literature. A certain little almanach *Le père Gérard* was stopped at the frontier. Leopold thus pursued his own course while determined not to be forced into a war with the Revolutionists. His sister, wild with anxiety about Marie Antoinette, thought his method of calling the European Powers together to meet the difficulties in France with concerted action was terribly slow and unsatisfactory. He did seem to be beginning to make some progress, however, when a mortal illness overcame him and resulted in his death on March 1, 1792.

This was an unexpected family misfortune, as Leopold was only forty-five and should have had years of active life before the heritage passed to his son, to be known as Francis II. The news of this event reached Marie Christine in the midst of a gala dinner and was a blow as terrible as it was

unanticipated. The Emperor was her dearest brother as well as a life-long intimate friend, and her words of mourning were not the formulas that they might have been considered in the case of Joseph's death.

The change of rulers brought about a shift in Austrian policy, and there was a rapid movement towards a rupture of relations with the French Government. While still styling himself King of Hungary and Bohemia only before his election to the imperium, Francis made demands for the restoration of the French monarchy to the basis of the declaration of June 23, 1789, the re-establishment of the privileged classes, and the restitution of ecclesiastical property. Naturally such proposals to interfere in what they deemed their domestic affairs excited violent opposition in the Legislative Assembly and Louis XVI., still held as a phantom of executive authority, was actually persuaded to accept the point of view of the *de facto* government. Accompanied by his ministers, he appeared in the assembly on April 20, 1792. A report on Franco-Austrian relations was read by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dumouriez. It recommended war. Then the King—with an obedience that did not suffice to save him—uttered the following words¹⁷: “You have just heard the report made to my Council. It was adopted unanimously. I myself approved the resolution. It is in conformity with the desire of the National

Assembly as addressed to me several times and with the wishes of citizens of divers departments. I have exhausted all means of preserving peace. Now I come, according to the terms of the constitution, to declare war formally against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."

Thus was Louis made actually to propose war against his wife's nephew, while Marie Antoinette and her sister Marie Christine were straining every nerve to get assistance from the Hapsburgs to rescue the royal prerogative from the hated Republicanism! Those years were full of strange contradictions, but this puppet play was one of the strangest. And it was utterly futile.

After speaking, Louis XVI. left the Assembly amid some applause and cries of "*Vive le Roi!*"

The Assembly adjourned and convened again for an extraordinary session on that same Friday evening to debate the royal proposition. Opinions varied. M. Hua said that the eyes of all France were fixed upon them and that no rash step must be taken. He did not think so important a matter should be decided hastily at an evening session. But his prudent statements were interrupted by angry murmurs, and a brother member proposed that the gentleman on the floor should be instructed that they were still the National Assembly even from 6 P.M. to 10 A.M. M. Becquet asked why any one should want war. "Why say that it is inevitable, since all the Powers have an interest to

the contrary, and since they all declare that they do not mean to attack us? . . . The alliance between Austria and Prussia is objected to. . . . This alliance is only a defensive system adopted rather for themselves than against us . . . If we attack Austria we would bring all the kings in the world to league against us; for they would see their thrones tottering and make a common cause in this struggle of liberty against despotism. Can a free nation have the immorality to call down on a neighbouring nation the calamities of war to avenge the insults of a minister? False would be the glory of avenging an outrage which can never affect a free nation," etc. He ended by urging that the French should not become the aggressors and thereby lose the constitutional liberty they had gained. Lasource sprang to his feet to declare that this speech was filled with sophistry, and many more deputies had remarks to make on general principles of war and on the peculiar position of the Republican government, but when the King's motion was put to vote it was adopted unanimously. At the same time M. Merlin desired to have it go on the record that it was a war against kings and for the Peace of Nations, and Condorcet moved a declaration that it was a principle of the Assembly not to undertake any war for conquest or to crush the liberty of any people.¹⁸ And with these reservations, war against Austria was formally declared and the French forces were turned

against the Austro-Belgic provinces as the first point of attack.

The initial hostilities were followed by weeks of strenuous effort on the part of the Archdukes to preserve the lands under their administration for their nephew—Albert taking the field and Marie Christine directing civil affairs at Brussels. It was a close contest, although the Austrians were far better trained and equipped than the invaders. Moreover an efficient Prussian contingent appeared to aid their allies. At the beginning of the summer there were three French army corps, La Fayette commanding the centre, Luckner the right, and Rochambeau the left wing, prepared to meet the mixed force of the allies and *émigrés*. La Fayette left his post at the news of the Paris excesses of August 10th, made some effort to control the increasing fury, lost the confidence of both sides in a curious manner, tried to escape arrest by the agents of the Convention,—the body that had succeeded to the Legislative Assembly,—tried to reach a port in Holland where he could embark for America, fell into the hands of the Austrians, and was kept a prisoner by them until released through the intervention of Napoleon in 1797. Thus the Republican hero was completely out of the current of life in the crucial years when the Reign of Terror stained the reputation of Democracy.

For weeks the cause of the Republic looked

dubious. The Duke of Brunswick took Verdun with his Prussians on August 31, 1792, and the road to Paris seemed to open before him! But the tide turned. A month after the tragic capitulation of Verdun, the Prussians were again back across the frontier, and on October 12th, the fortress was delivered into the hands of General Dillon. The Republic reaped her first military honours,—the Republic that had been formally proclaimed on September 22nd.

The Allies were not a harmonious body when thus repulsed in their attempt to vindicate royalty and to re-assert the principles of legitimate monarchy. The Prussians under Brunswick retreated to Luxemburg where the Austrian garrison treated them rather coldly, nay more than coldly. The Duke and the King of Prussia did not conceal their wrath at the refusal of the Austrians to provide straw for their wounded. The Austrians excused themselves by declaring that the Prussians had not played the game fairly. They had cursed their allies, treated them like brigands, and had told the *émigrés* that if the opportunity ever occurred, Prussia would make them pay dearly for that campaign.

Among the Germans intent on restoring Louis XVI. to his throne was the Duke of Weimar, in whose suite was Goethe. Once in France the poet wrote gay letters, making light at first of the discomforts caused by the terrible rains, which,

declared he, seemed to sympathize with the sans-culottes. He was present at the fall of Verdun and produced a map of his own to show the route to Paris from which he offered to bring presents. His hopes of drinking wine in Châlons or Épernay were speedily dashed by the military reverses. When the Republican forces wedged themselves between the invaders and Germany "all the glow of the army was at once extinguished." The mud was dreadful. Rheims, Châlons, and their "blessed surroundings" lay not far distant, but the poet was obliged to forego his wish to see them. Sudden, dispirited, foodless he retreated with the rest, being counted by the Duke of Brunswick as an "honourable witness that they were beaten by the elements and not by the foe."

On October 14th, Goethe rides into Luxemburg after a terrible retreat accompanied by fever, dysentery, and death, which he describes vividly. The city was crowded with the refugees, but the poet fared better than some of his friends, as he succeeded in renting a pretty little room where he could open his trunk at ease—he had travelled in a coach, not on horseback—and could assure himself of the safety of his precious manuscript on the true nature of colour. But later he finds time to examine the city and is greatly impressed by the strength of the fortress and the beauty of the site, by the great bastions and bulwarks, together with the lovely gardens. "Here is such a combination

of grandeur and charm, so much earnestness mingled with sweetness that one could wish that Poussin might try his skill on the scenes."¹⁹

The Republic continued to be successful. Dumouriez was highly complimented for the victory of Jemmapes (November 6, 1792) and hoped for complete control of the Belgic provinces—that meaning the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelders, the countships of Flanders, in two parts, Hainaut, Namur, and the seignories of Malines and Tournai. His 80,000 men were to “free,” not to conquer, their *frères opprimés*. *Guerre aux rois, paix aux nations!* was the cry and were not the southern Netherlands still under Austrian rule?

The advance was easy. Dumouriez reported that French valour was *opiniâtre et toujours croissante*. There was some vigour in the fighting at Valmy and Jemmapes but very little within the provinces. Place after place opened its gates, hailed the general as a liberator, and replaced the Austrian double-headed eagle by a liberty cap. On December 12th Dumouriez entered Brussels; on the 21st, he was at Tirlemont; on the 28th at Liège, where he lodged in the episcopal palace. Belgium was his, practically all, that is, excepting Luxemburg.

When the news of the defeat at Jemmapes reached Brussels, Metternich and Mercy—the latter a refugee from Paris—forced the Arch-

duchess to sign certain concessions, much against her will. It was the last act of her troubled and intermittent regency and one that gained nothing. On November 9th, three days after the decisive conflict, she too withdrew from the capital of Brabant. "Thou wilt not doubt my ill-luck and my misery when thou readest that I am again on the wander path and that I have been a fugitive ever since the painful day of November 6th. The French deluge has swamped our land; our army was forced to yield and we had to leave Brussels. My husband is ill; I cannot remain in Maestricht, as I had hoped; nor in Aix, which is a nest of frightful ideas and where the Revolution is a daily menace. Nothing remains for me but to take my invalid to my brother."²⁰

They found it pleasant enough at Münster, but in mid-winter they decided to go to Vienna on the Emperor's invitation. *En route* they received the news of the tragic death of Louis XVI., which did not cheer the remainder of a dreary winter journey across Europe. With it they practically pass out of the story of the provinces although Albert took part in the campaigns that followed. Their own later years, clouded by poverty as well as by public and private disaster, were passed mainly in Vienna.

Within a month after the battle of Jemmapes, the French forces had military control of all sections of the provinces, except Luxemburg, where the Austrians remained safely ensconced.

What were to be the exact relations of the Belgic people to the French Republic was the subject of hot debate in the Convention and of heart burnings in the provinces. The victors were lavish with flamboyant phrases of goodwill towards the people. "It is not from France that you will hold sovereignty; it is from Nature. The French have conquered nothing Belgic but your hearts. They have merely conquered the Austrians."²¹ But it proved to be one thing to have their new friends proclaim that every link with Austria was broken and another to have them forge new links with themselves or even to accept Dumouriez's suggestion that all State rights should be abolished and that the nine provinces should join with Liège in "making one single free nation under the name of Belgian."

The complaisance of the victorious general was unparalleled in the history of conquests. When the Brussels magistrates offered him compliments, Dumouriez replied: "Citizens, there is no need of these ceremonies; keep your keys, take care of them yourselves; do not be dominated by any stranger. Let your citizens join ours in chasing away the Germans. We are your friends, your brothers." This was pleasant, but when he told them that their cries of *Vive la Liberté, Vivent les États* were equivalent to *Vive la Liberté, vive l'esclavage*, murmurs began to be heard. When the French general further said that in preserving their

so-called constitutions, they preserved nobility, privileges, feudality; that what they needed were Liberty, Equality, and the sovereignty that was inherent in the people, he failed to touch their hearts.²² "Choose, Belgians," he said, "between your own sovereignty and the despotism of a master, between a popular government and a tumultuous aristocracy who would always be ready to take you back to a one-man domination."

The oath proposed by Dumouriez brought down a shower of protests and cries of "*Point d'égalité, point de nouvelles lois. Nôtre ancienne constitution et point d'autre chose*" were heard on all sides, together with a thousand invectives against the French nation.²³

In all the provinces alike fear of the French increased. To their mind the people in the Low Lands already had *liberties* in their cherished charters, and they were not inclined to exchange hereditary possessions for this *Liberty* that the French Republicans were boasting of, into whose fabric were woven many strange theories fundamentally alien to their principles. Moreover, the news from Paris became more and more alarming. The Convention had been very liberal in its first offer of protection to brothers struggling for freedom, but it was soon evident that wars of liberation were expensive and the Republic's treasury was low. Therefore, shortly after Dumouriez had almost throttled the Belgians with his fraternal

embrace, a new law was passed which provided that the cost of liberation should be borne by the liberated countries. Then a decree of December 15, 1792, went further. It made "Liberty" compulsory and imposed the latest Republican legislation on everyone alike. This is what called forth the vehement protests. Cambon was chairman of the committee that proposed the decree, and in his speech were many phrases well calculated to excite this opposition. "It is absolutely necessary that a popular system be established, that all in authority be changed or you will have foes at the helm. You cannot have Liberty, you cannot have a firm foundation for it if the former magistrates conserve their powers; it is absolutely necessary that the sans-culottes have a share in the administration."²⁴

Petition after petition was carried to Paris to convince the legislators that this was not to their minds, that the Belgians wanted their priests, that the nobles were not their foes, etc. Deputies from Flanders arrived in the midst of the debates over the fate of Louis XVI. and were forced to stand back and wait until the curtain fell on that tragedy.

Then came a new turn in affairs. The battle of Neerwinden, March 18, 1793, gave a temporary victory to the Austrians. The reins of power held by the Republic snapped, and her protesting and uneasy Belgic protégés returned to the Hapsburg family for another brief space. Before he suffered

this defeat, Dumouriez himself had soon been convinced that the Belgians could not be affiliated and that the situations in Brussels and in Paris were radically different. He wrote in the plainest terms to the Convention declaring that they themselves had wrecked the French cause in the provinces. "You have been flattering yourselves. I am going to tear the bandages from your eyes. The Belgians have been made to suffer all kinds of annoyances. Their own sacred rights of liberty have been violated. Their religious opinions have been insulted shamelessly. By a brigandage little lucrative the instruments of their religious rites have been profaned. Lies have been told us in regard to their character and their intentions. Hainaut was forced to unite at the point of the sword and the gun. The reunion of Brussels was achieved by twenty men who live on revolt, and by some ruffians collected to intimidate the citizens." He added that these Belgians were sturdy and tenacious. They had only submitted to the yoke of Spain after long years of struggle with Philip II. simply because of their devotion to the Church—and more to the same purpose.²⁵

Probably when the general thus expressed himself he was convinced that the Belgians were not to be incorporated into the French Republic. It may be that he thought he was the one strong man to bring them together under a régime more suited to their traditions than was the then administra-

tion of Paris, or perhaps he was dreaming of backing an elected king. The young Duke of Orleans was in his camp.

After his repulse at Neerwinden the general's conduct became strange, and his waning zeal in Republican affairs was finally ended by his defection to the Austrians on April 5th. With him went his own staff and a few others. He failed in his efforts to take the whole army with him. Thus Dumouriez, too, disappears from the Belgian stage.

The Austrians lost no time. Forty-eight hours after the departure of the French from Brussels, Charles of Hapsburg entered the city and was accepted as governor-general in behalf of his brother Francis II. So many Belgians had been alienated by French methods and theories, and especially by the law of December 15th, that there were enough to make a fair show in welcoming the Austrians. Democratic tyranny had become a menace before which the liberals retreated. Some, of course, were unwilling to accept the re-action and hastened away to Paris. There is mention of a *Société des Brabançons* in the French capital and a few Belgian refugees made a good record in the army of the Republic. Still it may be affirmed that the majority at first accepted the restoration in a fairly tranquil manner while both Charles and Metternich—that Austrian statesman again acting as minister to the twenty-one-year-old Archduke—tried to be very conciliatory and to remedy the

faults of the Archduchess. But Europe was on a war-basis. The anti-Revolutionary coalition needed money and troops and the provinces were told that they must contribute their quota. The pressure for funds in the form of gifts, etc., was heavy. Much was hoped for from the clergy who had resented the anti-clerical tendency of the French and who, it was expected, would make any sacrifices to prevent their return. But they were lukewarm. The richest abbey in Brabant, which had pledged 300,000 florins for the fight against Joseph's reforms only subscribed 40,000 to sustain his nephew in restoring everything on the basis of 1780. Emperor Francis II. made a point of visiting the restored provinces in person so as to knit the wandering sheep to his side by personal influence. A showy reception was managed for him. The horses were taken out of his carriage and a large group of children, each decorated with a white scarf, dragged the vehicle to the palace. There were splendid church services, wonderful gala performances at the theatre, and crowds threw up their hats in noisy acclamations, but by that time, much discontent existed beneath the carefully veneered surface, and the manufacture of manifest joy proved hard work. When it came to raising troops, there was more pronounced dissatisfaction. Francis II. sent a despatch to the Provincial Estates, written at Tournai as he journeyed home from his visit to

Brussels, wherein he ordered an enrollment of all available men in order to enlist five per cent. of the tale as recruits. He ended the despatch with the words that this would not be a heavy charge for so populous a country and "*pour une nation ancienne reconnue comme belliqueuse et brave.*"

This despatch excited widespread distrust. The word *ancienne* was felt to be an insult. At the same time the project of enrollment was considered a military conscription, something which had never been permitted in the provinces, and the Estates entirely refused to sanction it. The Austrians found it up-hill work, and in all probability had resolved to withdraw from the provinces when the battle of Fleurus was fought on June 26, 1794, and the victory of the Republicans as against the allies made that withdrawal a necessity. This time it was assumed that the provinces were conquered. The kind of sentimental and philosophical talk that had been current in 1792 was heard no more. The Republic did not again welcome the Belgic peoples as brethren. Their lands were considered as annexed territory, destined to become French departments. It was a different story. Cambon said in the Convention: "I have to announce to the Assembly that this time our entry into Belgium [only at this epoch does the modern word begin to replace the local designations—Brabant, Hainaut, etc.] will not resemble that made under Dumouriez; then it was neces-

sary to send 35,000,000 francs thither per month; today Belgium sends instead of receiving.”²⁶

Send it did, perforce, and much suffering was inflicted on the inhabitants in so doing. Moreover in all commercial operations where supplies were supposed to be paid for, there was serious loss for the conquered merchants. They were forced to accept the *assignats* or paper money of the Republic at its face value while a maximum price was set. Finally the farmers had to be driven to market almost at the point of the bayonet, while French agents failed to convince them that the *assignats* had a solid background. The forced maximum price and paper money went far to weaken enthusiasm for the French cause.

Amid countless procedures that alienated the people was one that was universally popular—the opening of the Scheldt. That was formally celebrated on August 10, 1794 (30 thermidor, an III.). A gaily decorated ship sailed up the river bringing two Representatives of the People who were received by the municipality of Antwerp with all formality. “We come,” they said, “to give liberty to the waves of the Scheldt, captives for more than a century. May Commerce, banished from your territory; re-enter and recover its pristine vigour.” Then a decree was read placing the free navigation of the river under the beneficent care of the French Republic.

It was well that there was one bright spot, for there were plenty of hardships suffered in Belgium during the process of passing from an existence as a congeries of provincial units to that of being French departments, with legislative and administrative unity. The political changes had wrought great confusion. In five years there had been the United States of Belgium, January–November, 1790; restoration of the archdukes and the foundation of a new régime under Charles of Hapsburg, July, 1790–November 6, 1792, battle of Jemmapes; affiliation with French Republic, November, 1792–March 18, 1793, battle of Neerwinden; restoration of Emperor Francis II., March, 1793–June 26, 1794, the battle of Fleurus.

In 1790, the National Assembly, while containing many sympathizers with the struggles of the Austro-Belgic provinces to make the Belgic United States, was induced by La Fayette to refuse practical sympathy. In 1793, the Convention would still have sanctioned an independent Belgic state under French protection. In 1794, the thought of the majority of those who were wielding authority was that the lands were to be annexed and the pale fence of the French Republic extended. It was urged that a decree, known as that of *9th vendémiaire* simply reconstituted ancient Gaul. From the mouths of the Scheldt to those of the Rhone, from the ocean and the Pyrenees to the Rhine and the Alps, would not France be the

strongest nation in Europe with its thirty million inhabitants?

Between the battle of Fleurus and the final distribution of the conquered district into nine French departments, Luxemburg had to be conquered and the Austrians ejected from that last foothold of theirs in the Netherlands.

CHAPTER V

THE CONQUEST OF LUXEMBURG

“**T**HANK God, Luxemburg holds out,” Trauttmansdorff had exclaimed as he watched the first French wave roll over the Austro-Belgic domain. And Austria held the Duchy through the era of the Belgic United States, and again long after the beginning of the second French occupation. From time to time the invaders forced their way over the border.¹ A letter written at Luxemburg, June 27, 1793, contains the following passage:

“The French have just made a fresh incursion into the province of Luxemburg, where they have pillaged various churches, among others the rich abbey of Orval. . . . The abbey of Clairfontaine has been totally devastated. . . . However, they failed in their main purpose which was to seize the magazines of Arlon. Since the 8th the greater part of these stores has been transported to the city of Luxemburg. The cordon of our troops on that quarter is to be reinforced to protect, if possible, that part of the frontier from

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French visitations which degenerate more and more into pillaging raids."²

By the autumn of 1794, Luxemburg was literally hedged in by hostile troops, troops elated by the wonderful success of their own arms. "What Louis XVI. had attempted at the height of his power, the Republic had achieved in a few months. . . . After having trembled for her liberty and her independence, France, in her turn, menaced Germany,"³ declared the Republican General Jourdan with not unnatural complacency.

The advance was unchecked, the Rhine was reached, Mayence and Luxemburg being the last cities on the left side of the river not in French control. General René was ordered to reduce the fortress. This was easier said than done. The besiegers remained half a year before the gates—long enough to be closely identified with the task in hand and to be called "*L'armée devant Luxembourg*." But finally Sigefroy's old stronghold fell into the outstretched hands of the "liberty"-offering French, and the Hapsburgs withdrew from the hilltop never to return. The city had been held as a forlorn hope, indeed, when the ultimate outcome of the struggle was in plain view. The veteran Austrian general, Marshal Bender, showed himself a courteous gentleman in misfortune, and wrote a polite note to the captain of the volunteers who had aided the Austrians,

assuring him that he had appreciated his valiant efforts, even though they had failed.⁴

By that time the French were declaring their intention to keep all that they had won and twenty-one fortified cities were among their spoil. The unfortunate Albert of Saxe-Teschen wrote in his diary that the Revolution was confirmed and strengthened into a European Power. After expressing his keen disappointment at the failure of the Allies to effect a rescue of the ancient order, Albert adds plaintively: "With my little army, I could do nothing but maintain a defensive and play an enforced subordinate rôle."⁵ He is very bitter about the inherent weakness and inefficiency of a military coalition.

It is interesting to glance at a copy of the *Luxemburg almanach* for this crucial year, 1794.⁶ Here are the items of the administration as it then existed. The names of seventy advocates in the capital city show that the overabundance of legal lights, noted by Joseph II. as one of the evils existing in the Duchy, had not diminished in fourteen years. It was a large number for a small community, besides seventeen notaries. Of physicians and surgeons there were fifteen in the city.

In this issue of the almanach, there is no recognition of the radical changes that had occurred in France as anything permanent. The entry for 1793 is: "France revolted against her legitimate



THE RUINS OF THE ABBEY OF ORVAL. DESTROYED IN 1794.

Dumont-Wilden *La Belgique illustrée*

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King, Louis XVI., and made him die upon the scaffold, January 21, 1793. It is now governed by *un tas de factieux* who also executed on October 16, 1793, Queen Marie Antoinette, Archduchess of Austria. King Louis XVII., b. March 27, 1785."

During the siege of Luxemburg the almanach for 1795 was published. The general details of the previous number were reproduced with two modifications. There is the following explanation of the absence of the ordinary chronological and astronomical news:

"The circumstances of the war having interrupted the ordinary postal connections of our province, and, consequently, correspondence with our *astrologue*, we are obliged to change the ordinary places of the eclipses in our almanach; we will place them at the end; if, before the last page is printed, events take a favourable turn and if, by that time, the post is again regular."

But the post did not return to its accustomed course while the book was in the press and the almanach remained silent about astrological predictions.

Then among the reigning sovereigns there stands the name "Louis XVII." but the observations on French politics were not repeated.

It is easy to understand the sentiment that inspired the editors of 1794 about the French revo-

lutionaries who had invaded their land. But it is also comprehensible that a year later when Luxemburg was nearly conquered and the city still closely besieged by the "*tas de factieux*" it seemed prudent not to repeat the uncomplimentary phrase.

Pending the complete cession of the capital, the invaders, masters in the major part of the Duchy, established a provisional government in the little forest town of St. Hubert. The buildings of the half-ruined abbey of the Benedictines were used as headquarters for the new administration, composed of nine "representative" citizens and a National Agent. The decree establishing the government was drawn up at Brussels and thus did not represent local views. The government was formally inaugurated "12 pluviôse, an III."—January 31, 1795. Bernadotte Stevenotte, a French-sympathizing Luxemburger, read aloud the decree amid acclamations of *Vive la République!* Citizen Wacken, bailiff of the commune, gave an oration on the benefits to be experienced by his fellow citizens under the new régime. Then followed the National Agent's oration on the same theme. Stevenotte read the required oath, the administration accepted it with enthusiasm and entered on their new duties promptly, as soon as the public had withdrawn. The proclamation to the people, sent to all the communes of the Duchy, was as follows:

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CITIZENS:

You have at last in your midst this precious institution that you have long desired; you are to learn how humane is the Government of this nation whose arms are so terrible. The administrators that the representatives give you do not resemble in the least the agents of your despots. To insolent oppressors succeed brothers and friends. These sweet names, so contrary to the characteristics with which your tyrants insulted you, must inspire you with confidence. Indigent citizens! You who know nothing but toil and want, you who nourish with your sweat those who crush you under foot, rise up from this odious humility and march, their equals at last! Your complaints, your demands shall be no longer repulsed brutally or tossed into oblivion; they are to be gathered up by humanity and weighed by justice. Enter into the exercise of all your rights, but let wisdom, let humanity guide you. Be sceptical of all counsel, all measures that gainsay these. Calm succeeds better than turbulence, sweetness better than violence. Persecution engenders terror; terror hampers courage and slays liberty. The French nation, in respecting your prejudices, furnishes you with an example of the respect due by each of us to others. Make Liberty agreeable in the eyes of your foes even, by beautifying it with all the virtues; and you, hard egoists reproached by the people! The throne of tyranny is broken irretrievably, you see our triumphs! Give up every blind pretension, every criminal hope!

Citizens of every age! Peace and Concord! May the sincere wishes with which your administrators

salute you prepare for them a career happy for them and for you!⁸

The new officials found it annoying to share a building with the few monks still remaining at St. Hubert's. They complained to the central government at Brussels "*que son amalgame dans le même local avec les moines presente un assemblage incompatible avec une institution républicaine.*" Further they distrusted men whose influence militated against the "Progress of Light" and the propagation of "sound" principles. They asserted that certain priests, expelled from their parishes, were calumniating the cause of Liberty. It was hateful to see before their eyes beings of that species,—like them basing their hopes on the "return of the tyrants," etc. It was suggested, therefore, that the obnoxious sometime owners of the buildings should be sent to the castle of Buren close by St. Hubert. There they would have plenty of space in the garden and quite enough to live on. Moreover, their occupation of that castle *would ensure its not being a nest of brigands!* Clever reasoners, the patriots of the Convention, and Brussels approved the motion on "23 germinal." On February 13, 1795, a Liberty Tree was formally planted on the Place at St. Hubert's, and other Republican symbols were introduced with the purpose of stimulating popular enthusiasm for democratic

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principles. The following address was sent to the Convention, nominally by "the people and administrators of the *ci-devant* Province of Luxemburg."9

LEGISLATORS!

When, on the one hand, you hurl lightning at the foes of Liberty, and while phalanxes of heroes chase the vile satellites of despots away from French territory; while on the other, you present the olive branch of Peace to kings involved in a perfidious coalition, and thus give to the world the astonishing spectacle of a great nation, who, if she knows how to conquer also knows how to pardon; with what satisfaction should you not hear the prayers of a people who ask nothing less than to be in your family? The people of the mountainous Ardennes are known for the simplicity of their manners and the pride of their hearts; the Walloons, French at heart, are also so in fact; they speak the same tongue; like you, they hate tyranny and love Liberty; you have only to sanction what nature has already done.

If reasons of policy have, up to now, suspended your decision, they should no longer exist. The prime political reason, the most sublime diplomacy, the only one that is fitting to a great nation, is to acquire new brothers and you will find them in the people of the Ardennes.

Are you waiting until Luxemburg is taken? Be greater than the Romans who sold the fields on which the army of the Carthaginians was encamped; declare this land as part of the Republic, and the army

of the Moselle, composed of heroes like the other French armies, will execute your decree. Luxemburg will yield to their valour.

Legislators, for a long time only war-cries have resounded in our mountains. Declare that we are French; the echoes will then repeat the names of the heroes and the legislators who, in securing Liberty, will give peace to the Universe. *Vive la république française, une et indivisible! Vive la Convention nationale!*

These glowing phrases from a facile pen did not voice the sentiment prevailing in the province. And there were reasons, apart from the potent differences in an attitude of mind, for believing that this much vaunted "liberty" was a very questionable commodity when carried across the eastern frontier by conquering Republicans. Long before the whole Duchy was conquered, the hand of the Republic directed matters and the people found the new regulations oppressive. Freedom of speech was only permissible if the sentiments were to the taste of the invaders and the privilege was not extended to priests or to those who still inclined to Austria. The Luxemburgers never had any real option to take or to leave. After the fall of the capital their fate was sealed. The last column of Austrians left the fortress on June 12, 1795. The Convention was officially informed of the fact in a letter written on the following day from Itzig before Luxemburg, by General Hatry:

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"Citizen representatives: Finally it belongs to the republic, this famous fortress of Luxemburg, and the last column of Austrians has evacuated it on the 24th prairial at five o'clock in the morning.¹⁰ I send you 24 flags and a standard which the garrison, 12,396 men strong, laid at the feet of us republicans. . . . *Salut et fraternité.* HATRY.

"P. S. I forgot, citizen representatives, to inform you of one circumstance which is remarkable. It was June 1, 1681, that the place offered to capitulate when the French besieged it and it is also June 1st when General Bender offered capitulation.

"The two Walloon regiments, leaving the place, deserted almost to a man, even the standard bearer. They did not wait to lay down their arms, they just threw them away, broke ranks, and fled across the fields; the representatives of the people were witnesses. I had passports given them for their return home; they all belong here or in Brabant."

The Convention had already appointed Joubert to take over the fallen city, and little time was lost in transferring the administration from St. Hubert's, where it had been for five months, to the natural capital. On June 15th the occasion was celebrated by planting a Liberty Tree in the *Place d'Armes* at Luxemburg. At the same time Joubert issued a proclamation explaining how lovely it was to elevate the glorious trophy of Liberty on the spoils of the foe, and how proud

was the day when the tricolour floated and the shout of victory was heard in the inaccessible enclosure. "Behold you are on the crest of these embattled rocks giving to the world a new spectacle of your prodigies. They flee before you, your disarmed foes, and they evacuate a rampart that no force in the world will ever retake. Yes, let them know and let the Universe learn that Luxemburg is linked to the destinies of the French Republic."¹

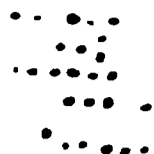
Presently a decree of the Convention abolished the entire ducal organization as well as the Estate of Luxemburg; all archives, seals, etc., were seized and stored away. The reorganization was to be complete.¹²

Throughout the summer of 1795, the provisional government was in force. In the autumn, Luxemburg and the remaining Austro-Belgic province were formally transformed into nine departments of the French Republic. The annexation was decreed by the Convention and was indeed among the last acts of that body before it gave way to the Directory. The Nation, crying out against tyranny, shrieking for Liberty and the Rights of Man, assumed the privilege of forcing its own will upon others if it were deemed to the welfare of France. To be sure a pleasing fiction was maintained in this case that the advantage was to be mutual, that France's unhappy neighbours yearned to share her prosperity, and that the Republic simply acceded to a natural request from esteemed



THE BRIDGE OF THE FORTRESS OF LUXEMBURG.

From De Cloet's Voyage Pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas.



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friends. The question of territorial expansion on the part of a Republican government had been considered as involving an important principle of action and had, therefore, been referred to the Committee of Safety. On October 4th, Merlin of Douai reported to the Convention the Committee's recommendation in favour of annexation. He introduced his own explanation of the reasons for this decision as follows: "Ever since the Republic, through the bravery and courage of the Armies of the North and of the Sambre-et-Meuse, gained possession of Belgium and Liège, the inhabitants have reminded you repeatedly that they became French in the early months of 1793 and have as often demanded the execution of the decrees giving them the advantage thereof." Merlin acknowledged, to be sure, Luxemburg was not included in the provinces longing to be embraced by France. His special plea in that case was that no Frenchman could be so cowardly as to remit to a powerful foe "this famous fortress, the strongest in Europe, which alone can protect a large part of our frontier and whose return to our hands is the more justifiable as it was due to Vauban's genius and to French gold as well as to the miracles of nature, that this formidable machinery of defence exists to confront the astonished eyes of the tactician bold enough to attack it."

Merlin harangued at length in defence of the

report and his speech was followed by many more arguments, pro and con. The basic principles of territorial aggrandizement were threshed out. In consideration of the importance of this step, it was decided that the public at large should be informed of the various points of view, and that the speeches should be printed in full and sent to constituents as justification for the novel legislation. Very probably there was "leave to print" more than the deputies had found time actually to utter on their feet.¹³ They indulged in many generalities, philosophic and ethical, which are all preserved.

Armand of the Meuse opened the debate on Merlin's speech. He declared roundly that the proposed annexation was impolitic and as disadvantageous to France as it was unfair to Belgium. The alleged vote had been cast at the points of bayonets. "They talk of the *choice* of the Belgians. Are deliberations, made in the midst of arms, worthy to be called deliberations at all? Who can tell that the Belgians will not repudiate such votes some day? By what right, after having vanquished them, do you deprive them of their cherished inherited opinions, of their riches, of their freedom of worship?"

France would assuredly be injured by the measure, because the European Powers, seeing such manifestations of the Republic's ambition in its very cradle would take alarm about its probable

aggressions when full grown and would combine their forces to curb its expansion. Small nations were the most prosperous. Had not overgrown Rome brought on itself the vengeance of the Universe? There was talk of an indemnity for the war expenses, but it must be remembered that the war had not been made on the Belgians but on their rulers and that the Belgians could hardly be expected to pay an indemnity. Armand thought that undoubtedly Austria did owe compensation to Europe for disturbing the peace and for making the treaty of Pillnitz, but that the best step towards peace would be the assurance of her independence to Belgium, a permission to form a government based on traditions, on religion. "You talk of improvement in our finances. But they depend on the Government's wisdom. If you do not believe this, look to sad experience. No immoral law has ever issued from these precincts without causing a fall in the value of your own *assignats*." This last phrase elicited a shower of indignant protests. Armand sat down and speakers who supported the reunion with divers arguments of expediency were listened to more approvingly, in spite of many specious flaws in their logic. The chief burden of the expansive oratory was the needs of France, but the ultimate benefit to the Belgians was also dwelt upon. Were they not kinsmen? There was no more difference between the provinces and "our nation" than

between the north and south of France. Where there were diversities, Belgic characteristics were often better adapted to democracy than French. At any rate Austria must be prevented from ever regaining political supremacy in that region and its incorporation into France was the surest method of barring that possibility, etc.

To these assertions Armand replied that there was no real community of thought between the Belgians and the French. The former hated the ideas of the Revolution, they were shocked at the cult of Reason, they were devoted to their religion and to their priests. Incompatibility must exist in any union, etc.

He had some support. One Le Sage declared that the time had passed for transfer of nations as though they were chattels. He quoted Rousseau, declaring that the philosopher rightly ridiculed the papal gift of part of the world to the King of Spain and begged his compatriots to hold fast to their fundamental principles and to cease talking about extending France to the Rhine and the Ocean. A Belgian writer had shown that his compatriots wanted the French no more than they did the Austrians. The Republican régime had, indeed, been hated throughout Belgium. They had not needed the Revolution and hated its theories, etc., etc.

Then again, speaking for annexation, Portiez of the Oise, urged that there was a lack of unity

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in the Belgic provinces and if France did not do her duty, the provinces would be plunged into a direful state of civil war. The "particularism" that reigned in the various sections was too strongly marked for the inhabitants to be united among themselves without an external power. Brabant was devoted to the priests, to the nobles, to the *Joyeuse Entrée*. Flanders and the people of Tournai were inclined to Democracy. Limburg and Luxemburg hung on to the imperial cause. There are thus, to begin with, three parties: Imperialists, Vandernootists, and the followers of Van der Mersch, who wanted the representation of the people without the distinction of the three orders. The Flemings had an antipathy for the Brabançons, and there were other lines of divergence. It was the duty of the Republic to take over the provinces. Without annexation, anarchy would ensue. The arguments were pleasing and the anti-expansionists proved, naturally enough, to be in the minority. The Convention adopted the report and the motion was carried by a large majority.

In regard to Luxemburg, as already said, there was less sophistry in the pleas. The acquisition was acknowledged as that of conquest. Merlin had stated the necessity for the Republic to possess the Duchy and its Gibraltar as an outpost, and that necessity was acknowledged.

The people of Luxemburg did not enter on a

golden era as the result of the annexation. The order to display the tricolour cockade was typical of the petty regulations that encroached upon the daily life, one by one. But small annoyances that hurt their feelings were by no means the end of their troubles. Military impositions became a constant nightmare, food began to be more and more costly, and the maximum prices fixed to protect the consumer brought little comfort. The rate was changed every month to suit circumstances and the resources of the poor could not keep pace with the ascending scale.

From the outset of the provisional government the new régime made determined efforts to exclude the clergy from participation in temporal affairs. It was declared that civil society could not recognize priests as public functionaries. As the Luxemburg clergy, from high to low, had always shared in every political duty, this effort to discard their services altogether affected officials in every department.

In the terms of surrender submitted by Marshal de Bender there were two articles, providing for the exercise of religion and the conservation of religious property, but all that had been granted was a general assurance to the Luxemburgers (Article 12), that French loyalty would look to the security of their persons and their property but that they would be governed as were the other conquered countries, and that they should exer

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cise their religion in accordance with the laws of the Republic.¹⁴

This wording left a large margin to the discretion of the incumbent of French authority and Joubert maintained that he was well within his rights when, casting his eyes about in search of office space in Luxemburg, he selected a certain "Refuge of Echternach" as a suitable building. The quarters of the *ci-devant* Estates were inadequate for administrative purposes. This edifice, designed for a Refuge was situated almost opposite the Palace of the Estates between the Convent of the Récollets (now Place Guillaume), rue de la Reine, and rue du Gouvernement. It would, thus, be convenient. It was alleged that there were never more than one or two monks from the Abbey of Echternach occupying this Refuge which the Order maintained at the capital, and that they would not object to making room for the officials in their building.¹⁵ This particular request did not seem exigent if there were, in truth, only two or three monks using the building in question, but other regulations went further.

Joubert had informed the Capuchins and Récollets of the city, by an order of June 22nd (4 mes-sidor), that they were to evacuate their convents and relinquish their churches, as the army needed the buildings to establish therein a grain, flour, and fodder market, as well as a depot for provisioning the garrison.¹⁶ This was a point that

touched the natives to the quick. The guilds protested and were supported by the General Council of the city. It was urged that the churches already hardly sufficed to hold the inhabitants, still fervently Catholic as were their ancestors. The Capuchins and Récollets had always rendered great service to the city and its environs, preaching, confessing the sick, day and night. Besides, the question was not only a religious one. Suppression of these convent churches would spell financial ruin to the merchants of the adjacent streets. In default of the natural concourse of passers-by, especially of the country folk, who frequented the churches and often made purchases after Mass, they would be left isolated, so to say, and forced to abandon their shops. Had not Article 12 of the capitulation expressly stated that religious foundations might count on the French for security to person and property? Surely it would be easy to dispense with the churches as store-houses. Granaries and national buildings could be used for that purpose. They afforded plenty of room.

A petition setting forth the above reasons against changing the churches into depots, signed by thirteen guild masters of the city, was discussed by a municipal or general council. That Council was still composed of Luxemburgers and was convinced of the justice of the plea. Joubert, however, refused to be moved. He gave

over the buildings of the Récollets and Capuchins to the military authorities, permitting the *Gardien des Capucins* to leave two monks for religious service.¹⁷ The General Council, quite unwilling to yield the point, despatched to Joubert, July 28th, a long letter filled with all the formulas of the Revolution to show their liberal principles, even while vehemently protesting that ecclesiastical rights should not be abrogated. They reiterated that the churches in Luxemburg are far too small to accommodate the faithful who flocked thither and that the buildings in question were needed. The National Agent and his substitute both signed this document which was long as well as earnest.¹⁸ Joubert was unmoved and he had the full power to enforce his views.

A few days later there is an entry of a decision in the administration records, providing that in consideration of some thefts committed in the magazines established in the buildings of the *ci-devant* Récollets, the brothers (three or four) still lodged in the building, should evacuate and retire to the Refuge of the Saint-Esprit, where they might occupy three rooms on the second story and two on the third.¹⁹

In addition to the encroachments on their religious liberties which met the Luxemburgers at every turn, there were excessive demands for war contributions. And the appetite for conquest was whetted. In the Republic they talked of

extending the boundaries of the "free" until France should reach her "natural frontier" in every direction, and forcible extension was a costly process. Scarcely were the Austrians out of the city when the streets were placarded with documents stating that an indemnity of 1,500,000 francs must be paid within three days. It was an overwhelming demand on a small city and far beyond its ability to meet even when reduced to 900,000. The Municipal Council told Joubert that they would appeal directly to the National Convention for redress if he disregarded their representations. Joubert yielded so far as to make some allowance for forced contributions during the war and for the sale of some confiscated property. But the burden remained terribly heavy for a city of eight thousand inhabitants and did not enhance a general appreciation of the great Republic. An appraisal was made to see just how much could be endured. The total evaluation of private resources proved to be 3,078,087 louis. Counting twenty-five francs to a new louis this amounted to 76,952,175 francs. The fortunes were divided among 1227 heads of families or religious foundations, not counting 355 bankrupts. The levying of the required sum was a Sisyphean task and much of the time of the administration was taken up in settling the justice of the assessment, if there could be *justice* in any quota of a war indemnity.

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Plaints form, indeed, a large part of the records of Luxemburg at this period as had often been the case before. Occasionally the appeals of the harassed inhabitants were met by some measure of redress. The established merchants found that prices were being cut by French peddlers who sold their wares on the street and at house doors, paying no license, no guild fees, no shop rent. These were ordered to stop their practices. They must join a guild or leave the place. The vivandiers of the garrison, too, were forbidden to traffic without the fortress. The commander was ordered to furnish a list of the vivandiers whom he considered necessary for the soldiers' comfort. These purveyors were to be under strict surveillance and not allowed to annoy the citizens.

Here and there, indeed, there are a few bright instances when the best principles of the Revolution are manifest in the midst of tyranny, pure and simple. On July 4, 1795, the tax collector queries the justice of imposing a tax of $3\frac{1}{2}$ sous on every Jew leaving the city, and the Administration agreed that the tax made an invidious distinction between men created free and equal. It was abolished.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEPARTMENT OF FORESTS *MALGRÉ LUI*

“**W**E hope that you will be worthy of the trust confided to you by the Government. To make the Republic respected and loved, to foil the machinations of the counter-revolutionists and the intrigues of the malevolent, to maintain order and tranquillity among the citizens, to assure them prompt justice in answer to their complaints, to accelerate tax returns, to proceed, in short, carefully and perseveringly between the shoals of despotism and of anarchy,—these are the duties and the obligations imposed on you by your character and by your mission.”

Such was the charge addressed to the new officials in Luxemburg by the two “Representatives of the People” Pérès and Portiez of the Oise, who had been sent from Paris to Brussels to oversee the installation of the new departmental administration in behalf of the Republic. The system adopted in exchange for the ancient régime in the *ci-devant* Duchy was, as nearly as circumstances

would permit, modelled on the same plan as that adopted in reconstructed France. But in the case of Luxemburg, no subordinate officials counted for much during the transitional year of its reorganized existence. The heart and soul of the government was the Commissioner of the Directory, Nicolas Vincent Legier—a typical son of the Revolution. Born at Provins, December 6, 1754, and educated in the law, he entered public life at an early age. In 1781, he was solicitor to the *parlement* of Paris, and at the outbreak of the Revolution was made president of the precinct of St. Eustache; in 1790, he was appointed Justice of the Peace of the same section. Sent as National Agent to his native town of Provins, he left that post to become National Agent in the conquered parts of Luxemburg when the seat of government was at St. Hubert's, and he continued in that capacity after the reduction of the capital. Thus he had gained some experience in local matters during the transition period and was a natural choice of the Directory when a more permanent official was needed in the "Department of Forests," as the major part of the Duchy was to be called. Legier was most anxious to show the benevolence of Republican institutions and to establish the new régime without the use of harsh measures. As it turned out, it proved easy to put aside the fair phrases of liberty and brotherhood when it came to Republicans from France exercising sway in the annexed regions,

but at the outset there was certainly an effort made to proceed calmly, intelligently, and legally in the ways appointed by the new Constitution. The Registrar of Domains at Brussels requested all needful statistical information from Legier.¹ The Department was not the whole area of the ancient Duchy. It was marked out arbitrarily, part of Luxemburg being shifted into the Department of the Ourthe. With these changes it was very difficult to furnish accurate data. It could be stated generally, that the Department was composed of twenty-six cantons, each averaging seven thousand, except Luxemburg with eleven thousand (this meant city and environs). The number of inhabitants was estimated at 186,000. The census taken in June gave a little higher figure, 194,000. By order of the Directory, June 2, 1796 (14 prairial, an IV.), the Department was divided into five arrondissements: Luxemburg, with nine cantons; Virton, three; Neufchâteau, four; Wiltz, four; and Echternach, six. This was to facilitate the imposition of direct taxation. As a matter of fact, the division was modified several times. In many instances regulations originating in Paris were made without any respect to, or knowledge of, local conditions.

Five bureaus were organized: (1) Finance, Domains, and National Property; (2) Public Instruction and Commercial Relations; (3) Woods and Forests; (4) Postal Service and

Transportation; (5) Public Works, War, and Commissariat.

Luxemburg was the first municipality to be put on the new basis, but as a matter of fact the personnel was not new. The seven officials appointed to replace the General Council active under Joubert, had all served the city before, although under different titles. They were small tradesmen and they did not care for their public duties. Legier had to insist that resignations should not be accepted. He feared that the withdrawal of one would lead to the defection of others. The ancient functionaries in Luxemburg, landed proprietors and officials of the religious foundations, had been willing to serve the public from their general interest in the welfare of the community, but the minor commercial class found it highly inconvenient to give their time to unsalaried work.

The old question of superfluous notaries came to the fore almost immediately. Attempts on the part of the government to suppress or to restrict the profession were resented bitterly, the more so, perhaps, because it was anticipated that there would be large returns for the few who were allowed to exist, by reason of the land transfers of all the confiscated property. There were tempting profits in sight and notaries deprived of their license to practice were highly indignant.

There were many experimental features in the structure of government as applied to Luxemburg.

And this was natural, because the Directory at Paris, successor to the Convention, was also new to its executive duties and to the interpretation of the new constitution. It was imbued with a spirit of compromise and pacification—a spirit that had been apparent in the last year of the Convention as a natural reaction from its earlier excesses and the Terror. The fundamental principle of the constitution of the year III. to which the Directory owed its life was that all political bodies should be elective—this applying to both the administrative and judicial departments of government. At the same time an anti-democratic reaction was evident as universal suffrage was replaced by a restricted franchise based on property qualifications. Those who paid a direct tax alone were admitted to the primary assemblies. An elector in the second degree had to be proprietor or usufructuary of an estate having a rental equal to the value of one hundred, one hundred and fifty, or two hundred days of labor. In Luxemburg, a day's labour was rated at twelve sous. In addition, the elector had to be a resident of one year's standing in the commune where he voted.

One innovation in the municipal organization was the concentration of several small communities into one circle, managed by a kind of cantonal assembly, composed of agents, each representing a municipality.

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It was expressly stipulated by decree, that French law, existing or future, should not be counted as operative in the Belgic provinces until specifically promulgated. As a matter of fact old usages continued in vogue. Indeed it was more than a year before the constitution of the year III. was even nominally introduced into the *ci-devant* Duchy. During the interval, the central administration at Brussels was supreme. It was not until the year V. (1796) that the people exercised any suffrage.

The real obstruction to a peaceful transformation of the Luxemburgers into Republicans was the fundamental divergence of opinion on religious subjects and on the priesthood, which existed between the ruling French party and the natives. An oath required from each new citizen received *malgré lui* into the Republic contained phrases that seemed to the faithful Catholics as subversive of the divine order of things. By 1798, the insistence on renunciation of all that fervent worshippers held dear developed into ruthless persecution. The story is one of devotion to principle or inherited convictions on the one hand and of determined efforts to root out "superstition" on the other. The French administrators had no conception of how deeply ingrained in the hearts of the natives was love and reverence for the Church. On December 27, 1795 (6 nivôse, an IV.), Legier wrote to Pérès and Portiez at

Brussels showing that it would be an easy matter to uproot the race of priests, so dangerous to public spirit. He thought the native Luxemburg clergy would submit meekly to the new rules and be no trouble. Six months later he declared that all non-juring and refractory *curés* must be made to feel the rigor of the law.²

The phrases of the Commissioner show how little he grasped the situation. He had no conception of the depth of the chasm between the principles of the natives of Luxemburg and those of the government at Paris. When it was decreed to abolish religious institutions and to reduce the number of parish churches to the minimum, some artistic souls suggested to the Directory that beautiful edifices ought to be preserved for Art's sake, even if they were to be considered superfluous from a religious point of view. Accordingly the administration at Luxemburg was advised that they were to preserve all buildings "whose beauty and importance might be advantageous for the progress of the Arts, for worship, or for any other object of public utility." In response to this order, Legier reports that in his jurisdiction there were no parish churches closed to worship and that, moreover, no religious edifices in the whole department merited consideration from artistic reasons!³ The least mediocre were two churches in the capital—the chief parish church and the church of the Récollets—

the latter already sequestered and serving as a storehouse for grain. "We have also at Luxemburg," continued the report, "a church belonging to a female religious community. This once served as a fodder storehouse, but now is disused. It would be a very suitable building for a theatre." Legier evidently had in mind a request from a theatrical company in Metz for a stage where they might exercise their talent. The administration thought that an establishment of "this nature would be very useful for the destruction of prejudices, for the propagation of Light, and for the moulding of public spirit," but they had to postpone the matter for a time until they could control all builpings.⁴

Legier and his provisional predecessors were all interested in fostering education as well as art, but there was more delay in setting the machinery to work. Even before the annexation there was a corps of professors in existence, but the old college building had been taken over as a military hospital and it is doubtful if any classes received instruction during the transition period although the staff was still nominally in service. But their expected salaries had not been forthcoming, as a petition dated December 27, 1795, represented their stress. Not a sou had been paid since November 1, 1794, and the staff begged for quarters where classes could be held. Arrears were voted but as they were to be settled in

assignats, the seventy-five francs per month probably did not provide munificently for the daily needs of the indigent scholar. Each instructor was to have eight hundred and two francs, ten sous as the sum due up to September 20, 1795. From September to December, a distinction was made. Muller, Schneider, Erpelding, and Never were to receive in cash twenty-two francs ten sous per month while Haller, Joret, Weiser, and Ernst were allowed seventy-five francs a month.⁵

In March, 1797, the college of Luxemburg was formally re-established under the name of *L'École centrale du département des Forêts*—the Central School of the Department of Forests. At the moment when the decree was passed by the Central Administration at Brussels (3 brumaire, an IV), the military hospital was still in possession of the school buildings, and the pupils had had a long vacation. The school was confided to four "juries" of public instruction. Among the members of the first jury were ex-judges, ex-foresters, ex-artists, lawyers, and also two *curés*. The four juries were to meet together and select nine professors to conduct courses in Design, Natural History, Classics, the elements of Mathematics, Chemistry, and Experimental Physics, Grammar, Belles-lettres, and Legislation. It was petitioned that a professor of French and German should also be engaged and the juries were to appoint, in addition to the instructing staff, a librarian

of the school. The State was to supervise, but not to bear the whole expense of, the education of the youth. The fees were fixed at twenty-five francs a year for each pupil to each professor, in addition to the regular salary.

In addition to art and to book learning, the Directory interested itself in music as an essential emotional element of a democratic education. They felt as capable of selecting songs as of drafting laws. Certain hymns were passed upon as well adapted "to awaken public spirit and to inspire an implacable hatred of royalty and its partisans and to illumine in the hearts of citizens love of liberty and of the moral and civic virtues so necessary for the maintenance of the Republican régime."⁶

The obedient administration in Luxemburg (in its session of January 21, 1796: the decree of the Directory was passed January 8th)—hastened to have this certified collection printed in a little 16mo and disseminated among the municipalities for use at the National fêtes—those enforced festivals that proved thorns in the flesh of the annexed departments. The regulations about being joyful and abstaining from work were very minute and for a time were strictly enforced. For instance the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI., January 21st, was celebrated at Luxemburg on January 24, 1796, and in the country a week later, both days being Sunday according

to the discarded calendar. *La fête de la juste punition du roi des Français* was the formal name of this festival. In its honour each soldier was given a bottle of wine wherein to drink the health of the Republic. The administration took its first holiday since its own inauguration and held a formal reception before marching at the head of all the government employees and officials to the *Place d'armes* where certain ceremonies took place. The program ended with patriotic songs, notably the *Marseillaise* and the *Chant du Départ*. Then the procession marched back to the government offices and disbanded. The regulations for the commemoration were specified in five articles of which the concluding phrase was: "The general will be invited to give to the fête the greatest possible air of solemnity."⁷

One song was strictly forbidden—*Réveil du Peuple*. Everything had to pass precisely according to the official regulations, and it is not probable that rejoicing to order, when many of the participants did not approve of the deed that was being commemorated, was productive of perfect pleasure. The actual result was that the cleft between the opponents of the Revolution and its supporters was emphasized each fête-day.

Meanwhile, out of the effort to inspire a common sentiment and new customs, grew up a system of espionage. The adoption of the new calendar

was obligatory. Christian Sundays and festivals were not allowed to be observed. Fifteen churches were appropriated for official services on the *décadis*. A *Bulletin décadaire* gave the list of fêtes that were to be celebrated. Notre Dame became the Temple of the Supreme Being, Saint Eustache, the Temple of Agriculture, and other lesser churches were rebaptized with other names. The Fête of Youth fell in March, that of Marriage in April, of Old Age in July. Failure to observe these and a persistence in resting on the ancient holidays caused a constant conflict between the people and the administration. Faults were reported and an atmosphere of suspicion was created, for none of the new regulations took hold of the popular imagination. The freedom of the press, instituted with so much éclat in the early days of the Revolution, vanished gradually into thin air. In France many prominent journalists were transported and punitive measures were inflicted more or less severely in the new departments.

The Directory was corrupt and arbitrary. No autocratic government could have used more exotic methods and large sums were spent on public service. General le Doyen, commandant of Metz, was empowered to use a certain amount of money for the surveillance of strangers. His little bill is eloquent of the pressure on him.

Received at two different times	600 + 300 = 900 francs
Expended acc. to detail given	1206 francs

So that there remains due 306 francs

And this deficit was promptly settled by the administration, rarely so ready with payment of more open claims.⁸

According to his own account, there was a disposition to believe that the Commissioner of the Directory, Legier, had his price and could be induced to deviate from the strait path of equity for a consideration. On one occasion two men visited his house and left a gold repeating watch on the table for him. There was a chain and charms of gold too, making the whole value of the proposed gift equal to at least 450 francs. How quickly did the conscientious Commissioner hasten to turn the bauble over to the administration!

Just what illicit deed was wanted of him does not appear. Nor was Legier the only one approached in this manner, with no end explained. At a session of the administration on March 1, 1796, Arnoul, the President, displayed to his colleagues a packet of ten *louis d'or*—*cette offrande de la séduction*—given to him by a person whose name he refused to reveal, even while taking the others so far into his confidence as to consult them about the disposition of the tainted money. The consensus of opinion was that the coins, intact,

should be turned over to the Directory together with an extract from the minutes of the session as a proof of the strict probity of the departmental functionaries and their devotion to the Republic!

The difference in temperament between the French officials under the Directory and the people of Luxemburg was fundamental, and the only reason why friction did not earlier assume a rebellious form was that timidity restrained the majority from manifesting their dislike to the innovations. The priests were more belligerent than their parishioners, but they were powerless to make their opposition felt. In a long report, Legier points out the difference between the French and German speaking communities (December 17, 1795), stating that the former were the more readily convinced that the Republic was their friend and dwelling on the need of peace. "It is from peace alone that the Republic can inspire confidence in its brothers. The land is ruined by having the long war in its midst. Exactions of all kinds have been and still are levied. Care must be exercised. The people are, as a rule, patient and capable of sacrifice." He points out very definitely that the religious sentiment is an obstacle to complete sympathy with a nation of true philosophers, but is sure that a progressive system of suppression will be efficacious in the end and reiterates that the prejudices to overcome are less in the Walloon than in the German

sections. The report enumerates the natural riches of the region and recommends exploitation, especially of the mines. Austria was not enterprising as the Republic ought to be. Commerce, too, needed to be fostered. It was almost dead. The conclusion was: "In terminating this statement, we must repeat that the inhabitants of this department must be treated with kindness and tact. If it be true that the motherland owes tenderness to all her children alike, one may say that the last comer deserves especial instruction and communication of Light in order to make it love an unaccustomed relation." In later reports, too, Legier manifests the same spirit, in spite of his recommendation that the priests should be treated severely.⁹

Certain of the government officials were in terror lest the reactionary sentiments should gain ground, lest the people should be willing captives to their late Austrian masters. There were foes of the Republic at hand, ready to assert that "*la ci-devant Belgique et le pays de Luxembourg seront restitués à leurs anciens tyrans.*"

Legier is sure, however, that there is no real danger. "*Les Belges, les Luxembourgeois sont Français, ils le sont pour toujours! La barrière est placée par la loi du 9 vendémiaire; les troupes républicaines la défendront jusqu'à la mort.*"

At an early stage of the new régime, there began to be difficulty in getting prosperous professional

men to fill the elective offices. Legier accuses one citizen, Lafontaine, of having said that only scamps could be found to buy confiscated property. The man was indicted for slandering the government.

One item that made the conscientious man reluctant to accept public duty was the article in the oath of office expressing hatred of royalty—*haine à la Royauté*. For instance the whole municipal corporation of Bastogne was accused of objecting to this article and was sent to Luxemburg under arrest to answer the charge. At the moment the prison capacity of the capital was taxed to the utmost and the party was allowed to lodge in the Refuge of St. Maximin. They asked for privileges—to live in private houses and to go and come as they pleased, on parole! The administration thought that was going too far, however, and the suspected officials had to be content with the Refuge and with bearing the expense of their guard at forty sous a day. The guard was one Sieur Coury, a coppersmith. For a whole month Bastogne was thus left without its functionaries and then the central administration, after referring the matter to the police, liberated the municipal officials. This was May 10th. On the 11th Legier wrote: "They (*les détenus de Bastogne*) have today returned home and are content." Whether the reluctant democrats stifled their convictions, or whether the oath was slid over, does not appear.

Sympathy with the old order might be silence at times, but it continued to exist and manifest itself from time to time. In mid-October, almost two years before the outbreak of the movement called the Peasants' War,—*Klöppelkrieg*,—a number of cantons in the Department of Forests were in such a seething state that they were put under martial law to the feeble extent possible considering the small number of troops that could be detached from the garrisons. On October 22nd Legier wrote to General Volland, then chief in command for the Department: "The cantons to which it is most urgent to send an armed force pending the despatch of garrisons to all, are Echtenach, Florenville, Virton, Neufchâteau, Bascharage, and Wiltz. A contingent of ten foot will suffice for the chief places. If you can spare five to Remich they can be useful there."

The numbers show how simple was the scale in Luxemburg affairs. It was a simplicity and a meagreness that pervaded all existence. There was comparatively little intercommunication. News spread mainly by word of mouth. At that time a public press hardly existed. Two years later, the printer Cercelet began to issue the *Écho des Forêts*.

Legier was a man who had lived in a political atmosphere and during the Revolutionary period he had undoubtedly grown accustomed to follow public opinion as expressed in the crops of par-

phlets and short-lived current periodicals that had blossomed rankly in France. In Luxemburg he felt out of touch with the world and one of his early acts as Commissioner was to try to fill the void. On November 30, 1795, he sent a three-months subscription to the editor of the *Journal des Patriotes de '89*: "The old patriots of 1789, citizen, love to meet in the places to which events have transplanted them. I have read thy sheets with pleasure, my dear colleague, and I regard them as very useful for the propagation of public spirit in these cantons. Thou hast no idea how the Republic is robbed, wasted, and decried by those who are in her service. It is necessary to contend unceasingly."

About the same time the Commissioner of the Directory of the Department of the Dyle wrote to Legier¹⁰: "I send you a copy of a periodical sheet that we are issuing here. We need a patriotic correspondent in every departmental capital who can give us fresh and reliable news. Be so good, citizen, as to find us a suitable correspondent at Luxemburg, or be one yourself, if you can. It is in mutual aid that good can be done and that the Republic can be consolidated. Be so good as to make our sheet known and to find subscribers." The zealous Commissioner added that communications and subscriptions could be sent direct to the editor-in-chief, Citizen Cornelissen, Chief of the Bureau of the Administration of the Dyle.

The editor's name shows that here was one Belgian, at least, active in the service of the Republic. The majority, however, came from France.

Journalism was found to have its dangerous as well as its constructive side. The Central Administration advised the public to be on its guard against "attacks contained in the journals *L'Abréviateur Universel* and *Le Courrier de la Guerre*." The Minister of the Interior wrote a letter which was posted that all might read: "Like you, I deplore, citizen, the shameful actions of certain journalists who strangely abuse the liberty of the press. But whatever may be the efforts of malevolence to corrupt public sentiment, believe that the well-known principles of French loyalty will always get the better of them."

No one feature of the reforms of 1789 had been more joyously welcomed than freedom of the press, but certain inconveniences of unbridled criticism of government action were speedily felt by republican functionaries. In its session of June 7, 1796, the Central Administration formally denounced to the public prosecutor a certain number of *Le Courrier de l'Escaut* (12 floréal) for its criticism of the levy of nine men from nineteen to twenty-five years of age in each rural community for the cartage service. Laws looked so different according to which side of them one stood!

The composition of the Directory under whose

ultimate jurisdiction the annexed regions fell did not tend towards winning respect and liking for the régime. The body was honeycombed with corruption. Every member of it, every official in its employ, tried to make what he could out of the funds passing through his hands, and no one had any idea of money passing through him without some trace of it remaining behind.

In 1797, the fate of Luxemburg seemed definitely decided. The Treaty of Campo Formio, October 17, 1797, gave over the provinces formally to the French Republic and Austria agreed to the settlement.

CHAPTER VII

NAPOLEON AND LUXEMBURG

FROM the foregoing account of the republican administration, it is plain why the faithful Catholics had no sympathy with the aims of the Directory and with the methods of French officials fed upon the mere husks of Revolutionary shibboleths, without any real comprehension of the underlying principles which alone had made them plausible. To the Luxemburgers, it never became a trifle to be forced to labour on Holy Days or to wear Sunday clothes, unsuited to work, on days commemorating deeds abhorrent to the Church. Regulations of such type cut deeply into customs that had been observed for generations by conservative peasants. But these were not the only hardships springing from the alien government. The Constitution of the year III. was in force from October 29, 1795, to November 25, 1799. Much of the legislation enacted under its ægis died a natural death, leaving no trace of a temporary legal vogue. One law, however, obnoxious from its first promulgation, was launched then and has proved tenacious.

This was the law of conscription into military service. In France, the first draft brought 200,000 men to the colours, after some 20,000 were exempted in the interest of agriculture. But this addition to the volunteers was far too small for the needs of the Republic. The new law was, therefore, extended to the nine annexed departments, where its enforcement was peculiarly obnoxious, as it had been the pride of the Netherlanders that they were free from obligatory militarism. In the Department of Forests the people felt that an unbearable burden was imposed on them. They were already irritated almost to madness by the malfeasance of French officials ignorant of local conditions, by the persecution of the priests, by the deportations to Cayenne, to Oléron and Ré of the non-jurors, and by the arbitrary condemnation of ecclesiastical property to civil uses. It was all trying, and the climax was the conscription of the youth of the villages to fight in support of theories that were hated as soon as they were understood.

When the elections of the year IV. were held (March-April, 1797), Legier wrote¹: "The rallying cry is, '*Point de Français, ni d'origine, ni d'opinion.*' "

He declared that every candidate attached to the Revolution was opposed and that the men whose opinion had weight were *émigrés*, priests, and *ci-devant* nobles. The newly established

republican schools were deserted, just as the philosophical institutions of Joseph II. had been. Children were sent to the drawing classes alone while receiving the remainder of their instruction from the parish priests. Legier lamented that the sole patriots were found among the penniless whose support came from the government. *Inci-visme* was a frequent charge against citizens. "There is only one remedy," asserts another report. "We must colonize as the Romans did. Larger garrisons will gradually affect the population."

At last the discontent flowered out into open rebellion like that of the Vendée, although of a feebler type. Without leaders, destitute of ammunition, armed solely with pikes and antiquated agricultural instruments, the people rose *en masse* in protest against conscription and the treatment of priests. This movement has been dignified by the name of the Peasants' War—*Der Klöppel-krieg*, or the Cudgel war, from the rude weapons used. Henri Conscience's use of the term in a romance centred about the episode probably did much to perpetuate it. The revolt was infinitely futile and speedily suppressed. It did not save a single man from conscription and protected no priest in his office, during the few months that it lasted in the year 1798. Liberty Trees were hacked down, church doors were wrenched open, a few French officials were slain,—that was almost

the whole tale of results in the Belgic province. In Luxemburg the participants were mainly from the mountainous parts, from the Oesling region, from Vianden, Our, St. Vith, Wiltz, and Clairvaux. "*Et gèt fir de Glaf*" was the war cry—"Here goes for the Belief." At Clairvaux alone was there any semblance of success, almost a victory for the rebels, and there stands a tall monument commemorating the mad valour of the untrained yokels who kept the republican troops at bay for hours. But a little later all was lost at Arzfeld; the French, naturally, were strong enough to turn the tide, and three hundred priests and peasants were marched off to Luxemburg where their trials, wretched mockery of justice, dragged out for five months and resulted in many executions and much misery. One man, a story goes, escaped from Arzfeld and took refuge in a hollow tree, letting himself down into it from the top. He found shelter, indeed, but when it came to escape, the tree was as relentless as the prisons in Luxemburg. His cries were not heard, or, if heard, not heeded. Perhaps the wretched survivors at Arzfeld thought it was only the ghostly moan of the dead. Thirty years later the great stump was cut down, and within was found a skeleton, a gun, a watch, and two silver crowns. The monument at Clairvaux shows on one side armed peasants kneeling before the uplifted Host. The legend runs, "Better to fall in battle than to witness the woes of our people

and of the Church." On the other side appear the survivors standing before their judges, with the inscription: "*Wir können nicht lügen*"²—"We cannot lie."

Scarcely was this agitation suppressed when strange news began to sift into the most remote quarters of the Department of Forests where journals rarely penetrated. The Directory fell into discredit. There began to be talk of one Bonaparte as a coming power. Luxemburg always admired a strong man, because there was really little inherent strength in the land. There was no revolutionary spirit such as would be likely to exist in industrial places with coherent guilds.

In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte was back in Paris and giving evidence of his capacity for leadership in spite of his defeat in the battle of the Nile. The need of the pressure of effective exercise of authority was patent. Corruption had spread among all who were supposed to defend public interests. Justices of the peace were elected and served only those who had voted for them. Other courts were too cowed to be fair. Mayors were illiterate, the police were futile, finances were in culpable disorder. Ancient corporations, legal, religious, industrial, having been swept off the stage by the Revolution, individuals stood face to face with the State, and the State proved far too weak to fulfil the obligations it had undertaken.

It was overweighted and the feeble human instruments at its command failed to function in unison and effectively. All this made the *coup d'état* of the 19th brumaire (Nov. 11th) possible. The Directory gave way to the Consulate and the *Moniteur* declared that in *ci-devant* Belgium, the joy was great at the news that Napoleon and two colleagues were at the head of affairs. Better things were hoped for and a few realized. For one thing the forced loan was suppressed. Then the delegates Crochon and Chenard came to Brussels and to Liège respectively, to explain matters. The Consuls' proclamation declared that all that was pure and good in the Revolution was to be saved, while the evil was to be reformed by the new constitution being prepared. In five months the draft was ready. Sieyès wrote most of it but the suggestions of Napoleon Bonaparte were not disregarded.

A referendum was to precede its inauguration as the fundamental law of the land. Each commune was to vote *yes* or *no*—three days after the articles were posted in the locality. The following note accompanied the document:

PARIS, 24 frimaire, an VIII.

A constitution is presented to you.

It ends the uncertainties that the provisional government left in foreign affairs, in the interior and military situation of the Republic.

It places in the institutions that it establishes, the

first magistrates, whose devotion seems needful to its activity.

The constitution is founded on the true principles of representative government, on the sacred rights of property, of equality, of liberty.

The powers instituted will be strong and stable—guarantees of the rights of citizens and the interests of the State.

Citizens, the revolution is fixed in the principles which began it. It is finished—(*Elle est finie.*)

BONAPARTE, ROGER-DUCOS, SIEYÈS.³

Whether or not those exercising the franchise mastered the articles of the new constitution before passing on them, the consensus of recorded approval was certainly clear. *Oui*—3,011,007, *Non*—1562, gave a large majority to the work of the law-makers.

The articles provided for three consuls, elected for ten-year terms. They were not exactly co-equal even in name. The first consul was to receive 500,000 francs as annual salary, while the other two had but 150,000 francs. The senators were entitled to 25,000, the tribunes to 15,000, and the legislators 10,000 francs a year. Ex-deputies were eligible to the senate. From the Forests, Franck came as Senator, while Legier was elected to the tribunate.

Naturally, there was not unanimity in France as to the advantage of the new articles in spite of the majority in the referendum. Certain Republi-

cans were afraid lest the hard-won fruit of the Revolution might be swept away in the flood of reaction. While realizing that there had been dangerous excesses, they still hoped for all the democratic liberty that was compatible with solid government. Napoleon called them *idéologues* and they called him an *idéophobe*, as he went on in his own line of practical politics. In his private code of efficient state mechanics he adopted an article recognizing the Church as a necessary and integral part of the body politic. "Let your priests say mass; power lies in the people: if they wish for religion, let them have it," was a statement appearing in his Italian proclamation, and the report of such sentiments on the part of one who held their happiness in his power was comforting to people like the Luxemburgers.

To be sure, the dreaded conscription was not abandoned. But for the moment more coaxing methods were employed to induce recruiting.

At the end of the year VIII., a report was issued on the state of public opinion throughout the departments. From the Forests came the echo: "*L'esprit du département est foncièrement bon. On désire la paix.*" Yet there were complaints even though the spirit was "fundamentally good." Instruction was in a bad way. The central school did not get started. Hospitals and hospices—feeling the need of their former friendly patrons to whom their maintenance was a prime care—

were in a deplorable condition. The octroi was very burdensome and the festivals which they were bade to celebrate had not yet been abandoned.

On March 24, 1800, the functionaries provided for in the new constitution arrived at Brussels and the consular administration was formally inaugurated. "The Revolution is finished, the government, strong by national consent, by the purity of its intentions, is henceforth unshaken. Tranquil in its existence, closely knitted with that of the Republic, it recognizes no more party, espouses no quarrel. The happiness of all Frenchmen is the unique object of the new government at Brussels."⁴ This was the bright outlook sketched in the speech made at the installation of the officials in the capital of Brabant.

But tranquillity was so hard to obtain! Europe would not be reasonable! "Bonaparte had offered peace to the powers, but they answered by war." And a circular was sent to the departmental prefects by the First Consul's brother, explaining that in the name of safety and fraternity France was forced to fight.

"All Frenchmen who wish, in these extraordinary circumstances, to accompany the First Consul and to participate in the glory and the perils of the coming campaign must register at the prefectures. The plains of Dijon await the brave.

"Warriors, habituated to triumphs, go to triumph again. . . . Young men, to whom this

career has hitherto been closed, plunge into it. You need glory. Rally Frenchmen all! After having offered the olive branch of peace, national power has emitted the cry of War. . . . In a few days, he who signed the preliminaries of Leoben, the treaty of Campo-Formio, will be in the field; he is to seize victory, impatient to see him on the battlefield. But in the midst of battle, he will invoke peace. He has sworn to fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world.”⁵

The campaign for which recruits were so eloquently invited lasted six months and brought success to the First Consul. In Luxemburg a sentiment for him was fostered by the hope that religion was to be fully restored. He said clearly: “The government will not interfere in the secrets of conscience. It demands no account from any one citizen of the faith he professes, it neither prescribes nor proscribes any cult, but it wills and has the right to will that republican institutions be respected.” Pleasant words from the future Emperor and very comforting to Luxemburg.⁶

On 1st vendémiaire, year IX., the Fête of the Foundation of the Republic was celebrated. On that occasion Lucien Bonaparte received delegates of the departments at the Ministry of the Interior and pointed out to them the need of France to see all parts linked together in joy. From the Forests came Blockhausen, Désert, and Dumont. And in that year, 1801, the Treaty of Lunéville

confirmed anew the union of Belgium to France. To this Austria gave her assent. The Hapsburgs relinquished Luxemburg for ever.

In the nine departments combined there were then 3,014,478 inhabitants. The Forests were the least populous, with 194,011.

From that time on many little reactionary changes crept into general usage both in France and in the annexed land. The First Consul dispensed with the names of his colleagues on proclamations. The word "Monsieur" was revived and passed unchallenged even by those who would have once been hot in the insistence of "*citoyen*," names of months and days were put in brackets alongside of the terms of the Republican calendar, and—all-important for Luxemburg—two conventions were made with the Church as preliminary steps to the Concordat which restored much of what they had lost.

General peace—that condition which the whole world wanted—seemed nearer too, because of a treaty signed with England at Amiens on March 25, 1802.

Again the people were asked for their opinion as to whether it would be desirable to change the ten years of Bonaparte's consulship into a life term and the referendum brought a clear decision in his favour. *Oui*—3,568,885, *Non*—6374.⁷ Antwerp expressed her profound satisfaction at this plebiscite⁸ in an address concluding with:

"May you long enjoy, Citizen Consul, your own benefactions; posterity will mark your place in the temple of memory; it is already in the heart of all Frenchmen."

There were many more equally fulsome addresses to Napoleon Bonaparte. The general councils of Ourthe, of the Forests, of Jemmapes, manifested similar sentiments, similar satisfaction, together with hopes that Belgian claims, as specified in the late treaties, were to be recognized.

A period of optimism set in. Certain rights lost by the Belgians did, indeed, begin to be restored. Napoleon's belief that the Church was useful found definite expression in a convention made by the First Consul with the Pope that went far towards healing the wounds inflicted on her by destructive Revolutionary measures.⁹

The terms of the agreement were expressed in seventeen articles of the document called the Concordat, concluded on July 15, 1801, and adopted in the *Corps Législatif* April 8, 1802. To be sure, Pius VII. had to yield more than he wished. Five articles defined the status of the Church and its freedom to exercise its rites; five dealt with the appointment to benefices. Other articles were dictated by the circumstances existing in 1801 and concern the formation of new dioceses and parishes, the resignation of bishops, the restoration of confiscated church buildings and the alienation of lands, the Republic's heirship to privileges en-

joyed at Rome by the kings of France, etc. The articles were somewhat strangely strung together and it is evident that the Pope was forced to let the First Consul secure far more than he wished, for the sake of rescuing the Church from the utterly deplorable position to which the Revolution had forced it. The Revolutionary settlement of church land was recognized, as well as liberty of conscience. Pius VII. actually agreed to remove the bishops or to let them resign, if they refused to accept the articles, and the First Consul was to have the nomination of their successors, while police restrictions on public worship gave the government a hold that must have been very galling. The Catholic religion was not recognized officially as dominant, but the three Consuls did make public profession of the creed, each for himself, and with that the Pope was obliged to be satisfied and to ratify the articles, as did the constitutional clergy and legitimate bishops. Many others refused their signatures, but they were refugees in England and their disapproval did not trouble Napoleon. The Pope was necessary to him and having the head of the Church ready to do his bidding made him quite indifferent to ecclesiastics of lesser rank. The defects of the Concordat were, at first, less considered in the Belgic provinces than its benefits, and in Luxemburg the First Consul was counted as a saviour. "Belgians cherish but one desire; it is to see the man whom

they so admire. Do not refuse them this favour, General Consul; they deserve it for their attachment, their irrepressible attachment to your person."¹⁰ This invitation emanated from the Meuse, but the desire was felt in other departments also and there was really a very cordial welcome awaiting the First Consul and Josephine in the annexed regions where Joseph had made his imperial visit twenty-one years previously. It was 8 messidor, year X. (June 23, 1802), when Napoleon and his wife set out from Paris, still Republican, but their journey took on an appearance of a royal progress rather than that of a democratic chief inspecting the remoter corners of a Republic.¹¹ The first stay was made at Compiègne, thence the party proceeded to Lille, where the air played as the Corsican rode into the city was, "On ne peut être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille." He gave himself as little repose as Joseph II. had done. One night he wrote: "To-morrow I depart for Flushing. In a few days I will be at Brussels. I am well pleased with the spirit manifested in all the departments I cross and it seems to me the Belgians frenchify themselves rapidly." At 11 P.M. he went to bed and was far on his way at 10 A.M. the next day.

Everywhere the First Consul was met by compliments which poured out like water. Bruges gave him her keys, Ghent called him one of the "Immortals" in the inscriptions that made part of her decorations. Madame de Rémusat relates

that he remarked to Josephine, "These people are devout and under the influence of priests. Tomorrow it will be a good plan to have a long séance in church, to caress the clergy, and thus gain support."¹² He thought it would be wise to establish a French theatre, and to woo with other arts, which he considered would not be difficult as there were no native poets, and thus French inspiration might be grafted on to sterile trees.

At Antwerp, the president of the General Council used for the first time the phrase *Napoléon le grand*. At Brussels, there was a triumphal arch, bearing inscriptions to Bonaparte the victor and to Bonaparte the legislator. The address began with congratulations upon his achievements.

"Citizen First Consul: After ten centuries of separation, you have reunited the great Gallic family. The Belgians rank high; you have given them this rank; I do not hesitate to declare that you will find us worthy."¹³ Then the orator quotes Cæsar about the Belgians and refers to Charlemagne, Charles Quint, Britannicus, etc.

It was all very delightful for the ambitious general, and possibly he cheated himself into believing that the words addressed to him really came from the Belgic folk instead of having been brought from Paris in order to fly back again like carrier pigeons and bear news of Napoleonic sentiment in the departments.

Yes, Napoleon and his adherents worked energetically in those years and excellent things were really accomplished. Public works were begun on a scale hitherto undreamed of. An industrial exposition was held in Brussels which brought commercial expansion in its train. A private letter of the year X. mentions that twelve business men of Brussels and one English firm were about to establish branches at Antwerp, and that a number of American families had come from the United States to take up a residence in Belgium. The laws were brought into order and the *Code Napoléon* became effective and, to a large degree, efficient. A feeling of security began to pervade, and in Luxemburg people really took heart. After the conspiracy of Pichegru and Cadoudal against Napoleon was discovered, the Forests was the first one of the departments to assure the Chief Citizen that "the hearts of faithful Frenchmen shuddered with surprise and horror on learning of plots intended, at the will of a stranger, to plunge the Republic into the abysm of civil wars, by depriving it of its hero and its liberator. But you live."¹⁴ . . .

"May the national *élan*, guided by your genius, speedily avenge us and the entire world against the crimes of the English government."

This was signed by the prefect, the under-prefects, the general council, the mayor of Luxemburg, the municipal councillors, etc.

It was followed by similar addresses from other departments.

Though Napoleon did not reach Luxemburg during his first visit, he paid it a flying call a few months later when he was already Emperor-elect. By that time he had instituted local Guards of Honour to act as his escort on state occasions. It was the *élite* of Luxemburg who escorted the "First Consul" across their territory, October 9, 1804.¹⁵ Napoleon's encroachments on democratic simplicity were little resented in the Department of Forests. The Legion of Honour was accepted gladly—an institution which was declared to be an auxiliary to Republican law and to serve to strengthen the principles of the Revolution, while combating the tendency to violence.

One step after another prepared the way for a one-man power. Glory, recognition, love, reason, and State interest were declared to proclaim Napoleon hereditary emperor. And a referendum endorsed this assertion. The result of the plebiscite was *Oui*, 3,572,329—*Non*, 2569.¹⁶ And on 28 floreal, an XII., Napoleon was voted the imperial throne by a *Senatus Consultum*. That date was given out of respect to the Revolution, by whose unwitting means the Corsican had climbed to this height. Out of respect to the spirit of reaction, the date was also called May 16, 1804. And Catholics like the Luxemburgers, who had hated the principles of the Revolution and were equally



LUXEMBOURG le 9th 1804.

NAPOLEON'S GUARD OF HONOR 1804.

From "Les Lignes de l'Empire" of the "Galerie de l'Empire" 1804.

opposed to a scheme of militarism, which they did not yet know was represented by the man who was still talking Peace and building bridges, codifying laws and fostering Commerce, were soothed into sympathy with Napoleon's ambition when they heard that Pius VII. journeyed up to Paris on December 2, 1804, to assist at his coronation, even if he had not actually placed the crown on the new Emperor's head.

Curious it is to note in Napoleon's career how eagerly this audacious innovator grasped at every shred of historical statement or tradition that he thought might enhance his own glory and bring him in touch with conquerors of the past! After his first use of Republican or Democratic principles, his great anxiety was to fall into line with all the great ones of the earth and thus prove his kinship with them in opposition to the lines of hereditary sovereigns. Still he took care to make his line hereditary and to count his own brilliancy bright enough to illuminate his whole family. The Child of the Revolution meant to leave to the Bonapartes an Imperial heritage accepted by Europe. And Europe went on accepting it until the revolt of kings and the armies of the Allies made a stand.

In 1806, August 6th, the old Holy Roman Empire definitely expired after years of feebleness. Francis II., Emperor-elect of that ancient foundation, resigned the title and accepted that of Francis I.

of Austria. There was to be a Confederation of German States and nothing more. Napoleon was not in this, but he meant to control it. He was especially determined to keep down Prussia. She had swallowed province after province. He thought she should disgorge. "The Prussian eagle has turned vulture" was his comment on her methods, without noting that a glass house was a perilous habitation. The situation in Europe became one in which Peace simply could not exist. Soldiers were needed on every side. In regard to the annexed departments of France, a theory was promulgated that conscription would be beneficial beyond furnishing soldiers. It was urged that it would be a material aid in naturalizing and amalgamating a nation. The young Flemings would mix with the Flower of France and insensibly adopt French vivacity, French military spirit. Thus was a bitter pill gilded with fair words. The militarism inaugurated by the conscription law and increased by Napoleon's ambitious needs was a terrible drain on Luxemburg. Practically all the able-bodied men were drawn off from ordinary life. The lists show 2835 names of those who were summoned in 1813, and 2535 of those who never returned. All authentic statistics of these Luxemburgers serving under Napoleon have been brought together¹⁷ and it makes a dreary record. Letters from conscripts to their families are fair illustrations of life in the grand

army. Here are three from sons of a Vianden family. Christopher Wolster was fusilier in the 10th half brigade of infantry of the line, stationed at Pouancé, Department of the Maine and Loire, whence he wrote a New Year letter to his parents. Republican titles are still in full force.

POUANCÉ, January 1, 1799.

TO MY FATHER AND MOTHER:

I hope you will receive my letter in good health in the New Year; and if you send me money do so in two letters; mark the value more than it is for the Post. Whoever wants clothes must buy them as it would be long before we get them from the Regiment but you must not send me Brabant money as it is not valid. I cannot write you more news than that peace has been made with the Princes, which you know better than I. Herewith I wish you a Happy New Year and all that you desire in it and if you answer make the letter free and then I will only have to pay a sou. Remain your son C. Wolster.

My address is: Citizen Christopher Wolster, volunteer in the 6th company of the 2nd battalion of the 10th demi-brigade of infantry of the line, cantoned at Pouancé near Angers, Dept. of the Maine and Loire.

The second letter is twelve years later from Bernard Christopher Wolster.

BRUGES, July 15, 1812.

MY DEAREST BROTHER:

We arrived here on the 28th of last month and suffered greatly on the march. The allowance was

five sous per day and our meat and bread, and it is impossible to live on that when travelling, and I paid out much money, for we were nearly three weeks on the march and I rode from Neufchâteau here as they wanted to put me in the hospital. I have not been well since I left home and have had to pay 15 sous a day for riding and it was very dear, almost unbelievably so and here everything is dearer. We are given a pound and a half of bread a day, but it is half husks and hard as a stone, and 5 sous from which we must buy meat, salt, wood, light, rice, and bread for the mess kettle, fat and a thousand trifles, so that little remains for the rest of our living, and whoever wants to buy any more to quench hunger has to pay three times as much as a civilian; a pound of bread costs 10 sous a pound and meat 12; for potatoes we pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ sous a pound. In Metz nearly everything was stolen from me and in Brussels everything, except my ordnance and the shirt on my body, for the thievery in the corps is simply incredible; every morning and evening we have three hours' exercise and it looks to us as though we should die of hunger, and many are in the hospital and many have deserted and do so daily, and they are forcing us into the cavalry . . . and I have arranged to change; for the last nine days I feel very well and hope that you are too. Write me the home news and whether more are drafted. . . . On my arrival I wrote to Maurice and have heard nothing and I believe that his company has gone. If he writes send him my address. I am glad that I am in Herr Camas' company, for no one troubles or rags me, and I do not need to do like the others, and if anyone tried to bother me I would cope with him even if

the devil himself came. Herr Camas will soon be officer and is my sergeant major and sends his compliments to Herr Theodor Lorenz as well as to all other acquaintances; write to me at the first opportunity, for we are expecting orders to march to Boulogne and we are now four hours from Ostend on the Sea.

I close. Greet all inquiring friends and kinfolk.

THY BROTHER C. B. WOLSTER.

It was not until two years after this letter that the family heard from the "Maurice" mentioned above. His letters at last found their way from Poland addressed to Monsieur Wolster, merchant tanner at Vianden, Dept. of Forests, Province of Luxemburg, by Luxemburg to Vianden.

"SUCHY," July 22, 1814.

[SUCHAIN, POLAND.]

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW, SISTER, BROTHER,

AND SISTER-IN-LAW:

I must try to give news of myself, for it is already long since I have received any,—not since I left home. This is the 5th letter I have written without receiving any answer; one was in May, 1812, from Antwerp, the second from Rostock in August, another from Tilsit on the frontier of old Prussia, on November 14, 1812, and the fifth from Sucha in Poland July 22, 1814. On October 15th we left Stralsund by Post in order to join the grand army in Russia and reached it at the crossing of two bridges and so back as far as Danzig where we were shut up for a year and

nearly died of hunger and the sword too, far more from hunger than from the bayonet and powder had to lay down their lives there. $2\frac{1}{2}$ biscuits a day, with neither salt nor fat; everything is burned. On Jan. 2nd we were marched out as prisoners; I let you picture what I and others had to suffer from hunger and cold and from fever too and this last to this very day and I do not know what to do to cure it; every three days I still have it. On February 12th I was to go to a Russian hospital in Coeveno (a city in Russian Poland). I have had fever to such a degree that I could not stand on my legs, and I was over 14 days long in Warsaw without knowing where I was and was not much wiser when they told me; not far from Coeveno a Polish countess, coming from Wilna, found me in the snow just as my mother bore me, in pain, half dead and frozen.* She took me on her sledge to Warsaw and gave all possible care to cure me; the Doctor said that as long as I was here it would be impossible to recover; . . . I think I earned my board well by spending the whole day teaching four children to read and write French; I was really like their slave though not called so; but nothing helped me, if there be any change she will go further into Russia and there is no way to get free from the masters. If they have once taken or bought a man they can give him over to a trader, for she took me from the Russians in Warsaw and I cannot get away until I have repaid her money and what she has expended on me; meanwhile farewell, if you write to me send me more than a little if possible; if not then I must submit to what they wish

* The Cossacks had stripped him and left him to perish.

from me for I cannot help myself. Greet everyone heartily, relations and whoever is asking after me.

Your true and devoted brother-in-law,

MAURICE WOLSTER.

My address is Madame la Comtesse Pieszkoidski née Comtesse Stieki Storsta Krasutestan at Sucha near Varsovie in Poland to remit to sieur Maurice Wolster of Vianden Dept. of Forests, very pressed at Sucha.

An endorsement in a different hand runs:

Received September 15th:

Wolster Peter thirty-five crowns and sixty francs

Wolster Franz two hundred and fifty francs

In Luxemburg September 20th.

Certainly the Wolsters were prompt in their efforts to despatch money to aid their unfortunate kinsman, but there is no knowing whether it ever reached him.

As years went on and man force became more and more essential to Napoleon, stringent measures were used to enforce service that had once been requisitioned. One Adam Differding, of Wiltz, conscript of the year XIV. was posted as *refractory* or *deserter*. The mayor of Wiltz was in terror lest the town were to be made to suffer on account of this man. Occasionally such was the method employed. The whole community was punished if a drafted man failed in his military duty and in this instance the mayor was glad to find this

private letter as a proof of the man's intention to join his regiment on time. It was addressed "*à demoiselle madallena Brandenburger département des forêts canton de Wiltz demeurant à Niederwiltz, poste restante à Bastogne en France, dito à Niederwiltz*" and the contents showed why Adam had failed to join the colours promptly.

UTRECHT, May 20, 1811.

DEAREST MADALLENA:

I cannot omit writing at once. I did not reach the regiment until May 12th because I had to go from Maestricht to Wesel and from Wesel to Münster, from Münster to Osnabruck, and have travelled at least 200 hours because the Commissioners of War said that the regiment had gone from Hamburg into Hanover as indeed it had been ordered to do but on account of a revolt which the Jews made in Amsterdam and Rotterdam against the conscription they did not leave and our regiment went there on May 8 and is still there with the Jews but they are daily expected at Utrecht. . . .

Here is my address: *à monsieur Differdin in the 24th régiment of chasseurs "à cheval" [à cheval] 7th company in garrison at Utrecht.*

Differdin's death in the Münster hospital on February 17, 1812, saved him from the Russian campaign.

In spite of the drain on her people, conscription came to be accepted as part of life in Luxemburg. There was no other concerted rising like the Klöp-

pelkrieg. The belief that Napoleon was a saviour was slow to wane. The reaction came only when Napoleon ceased to treat the Pope with the deference he had at first accorded him. The annexation of papal lands made a deep impression. In the other departments, the continental blockade, the exorbitant demand for war loans, played a part in alienating the Belgians from sympathy with the Emperor. National sentiment began to come to life, more slowly in Luxemburg than elsewhere, to be sure, just as every innovation had lingered on the threshold of that region.

In 1810-11, Napoleon tried the effect of another state journey as a means of affecting public opinion in the departments. He was accompanied by Marie Louise and he hoped that she, as a Hapsburg, would be a great card in the game there, where the Hapsburgs had held sway so long, and where the women of the family, especially, had been popular, and Mérode says that she was, indeed, greeted in a very different manner from Napoleon, who was made to feel that the people were chilled toward him, try as he would to win their confidence. At Brussels there was a great ball where he made the Empress accept the nobles as partners and bade her write her father that she had danced with his Flemings.

At Luxemburg the Emperor was very gracious. A vagrant story tells how the city keys were offered to him pendent from the hand of the little

image of the Virgin, that cherished patron of the capital. With a courtesy more graceful than was usual with him, Napoleon refused to accept the gift, saying that the keys could not be in better hands.

No act could have been more popular in Luxemburg.

Not long after this pompous imperial visit, when Napoleon seemed bathed in prosperity, his luck turned, misfortune followed misfortune, until the defeat at the battle of Leipsic finished the series.

There was an attempt to gauge Belgian sentiment after the Russian campaign. In March, 1813, Baron La Tour du Pin,¹⁸ Prefect of the Department of the Dyle, wrote to the Minister of the Interior at Paris in answer to his question about the state of public opinion, that he was confirmed in his previous impression that the people were not Austrian, not English, not anti-French, but *Belgian*. He adds that there was a general air of prosperity, especially among the farmers, and that as a rule the Belgians cared for money and were more calculating than the French, but at the same time the religious sentiment was a potent factor in their lives. Protection for their faith and for their fortunes was their desire, and for these boons they would give obedience, though without enthusiasm.

How little Napoleon himself was aware of the lukewarmness of Belgian sentiment is shown by

his speech of February 14, 1813, before the *Corps législatif*. "It is with a vivid satisfaction that we have seen our people of Italy, of Holland, and of the annexed departments, vie with the French in their loyalty and show that they have no hope for the future, except in the consolidation and the triumph of the Empire."¹⁹

In Luxemburg, as already said, the presence of the national spirit was slower to come, while the desire for protection was always very strong there. There was much, indeed, in the Napoleonic régime which they had liked in spite of the inconveniences that came with it, and especially of the drain of man power already mentioned. What one Luxemburger experienced in the Russian campaign we have seen. At the same time, no political change had taken place. Napoleon simply entered into the heritage of the Revolution. The *ci-devant* Duchy was already the Department of Forests at his advent, and his relations with it had been fairly pleasant. His fall, however, brought about a radical alteration in its relations to its neighbours.

The culmination of the confusion and uncertainty obtaining in the winter of 1813-14 was the Emperor's acceptance of defeat. His abdication was made with altruistic words.²⁰

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the sole obstacle to the re-establishment in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for

himself and his heirs the thrones of France & Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice which he is not ready to make in the interest of France."

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

A NEW Heaven of Peace was expected with the Arch-disturber planted in Elba—a circumscribed island kingdom. Drawing a long breath, the Powers proceeded to park out a new Earth where no potentate should have too much, and each sufficient, in the eyes of his fellow-monarchs, at least, if not in his own.¹ In the discussions about a just equilibrium the inhabitants of the regions under discussion were referred to as *souls*. There were 30,000,000 such “souls” loosened from their political moorings by Napoleon whom the Powers proposed to reattach to some ruler.

The Congress in which the final map-making was done was held at Vienna and its declared aim was to adjust a balance of power neatly among the sovereigns of Europe. The theory of equilibrium—implied as a working basis if not precisely phrased—had indeed affected the territorial adjustment between sovereigns made at Westphalia in the great Peace of 1648. But Napoleon had

changed all that. In the series of treaties forced by him at Rastatt, Campo Formio, Lunéville, Amiens, Pressburg, Tilsit, Vienna (1809), and Prague, there was no suggestion of balance of power. Fragments of political units had been ruthlessly swept under French domination and the accession solemnly ratified by unwilling signatories. Now, when the Allies were victorious, the theory was brought to the fore as the basis for their great work of reconstructing Europe.

The Congress of Vienna did not spring suddenly into existence out of Napoleonic chaos, as a full-fledged body. It was but the culmination of a series of conferences held, of agreements made, and of compacts struck by the allied sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, from March, 1812, to the end of 1815, as they gradually became convinced that it was their joint concern first to keep Napoleon within bounds and then to suppress him altogether as an outlaw. Some of the agreements reached were made public, some kept secret, and often it was the existence of the latter that affected a powerful undercurrent of subsequent discussions. The sovereigns desired to give an impression of being actuated by universal principles, but frequently each was driven to some compromise by a secret pledge.

At first they had no idea of the extent to which they could go. At an early stage of his reverses Napoleon could have obtained very fair terms from

his foes. After his abdication, he was out of the game but the skilful tactics of Talleyrand were successful in keeping France distinct from her late emperor and, finally, in having her recognized as a colleague rather than a pawn.

But there were pawns counted as wholly under the control of the Allies. And among them were the Belgic provinces—the nine departments summarily annexed to the French Republic in 1795 and as summarily cut adrift from the *ci-devant* French Empire. The Department of Forests was lifted like a kitten from one basket to another.

These dispositions were made diplomatically and the thread of the negotiations as affecting Belgium starts from December, 1813,—four months before the abdication.

Holland, like her southern neighbour, was rated in Napoleon's mind as part of France, but Holland was quick to take advantage of her imperial master's defeat at Leipsic, October, 1813, and to act promptly in her own behalf. The last Nassau stadtholder of the old Dutch Republic had been driven from power in 1795. The Bavarian Republic, "protected" by its French sister, had succeeded to the shattered federation of the seven United Netherlands, until forced by Napoleon to give way to a Kingdom of Holland ruled over by King Louis Bonaparte, 1810–1813. As this made-in-Paris sovereign proved insufficiently subservient to his imperial brother, the kingdom

was changed into departments and incorporated with France. Then, when Napoleon's ruin was imminent, the Dutch people rose, and the Prince of Orange, son of the last stadtholder, was welcomed back from his refuge in England and joyously received as a saviour. Where a Bonaparte had worn a royal title, a Nassau could not be content with a lesser, and on December 2, 1813, this William of Nassau was proclaimed Sovereign Prince at Amsterdam. This step—practically a revolutionary measure forced by circumstances²—was tacitly accepted by the Powers, to be formally approved later in 1815.

Between these dates—November, 1813, and July, 1815,—the fate of the southern, or Belgic, provinces and Luxemburg was decided by the same Powers. Undoubtedly the monarchs, after the humiliations suffered at the hands of the usurper, had a peculiarly pleasant sense of their own beneficent efficiency in their provisions for territories adrift for a quarter of a century. But in what was done for the Netherlands there was chiefly concern for the general peace of Europe. Holland had reaped one distinct advantage from the political changes in the Revolutionary period. The country was solidified under them into one, as Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, etc., had never been in their earlier federation. Therefore it was strong enough to make terms. The Belgic provinces, on the other hand, were counted simply

as conquered territory wrested from Napoleonic domination by Prussian force, under General von Bülow, whose proclamation from Utrecht, December 9, 1813, to the people of Brussels³ declared that celestial vengeance had already struck the man whose mad pride was ravaging the world, whose hand had destroyed all that was sacred, all that opposed his ambition, etc. The very name of Napoleon ought to suffice to bring down maledictions from millions of his subjects, etc. "Courage, men of Brabant . . . and the God of armies will bless, as always, the just cause, the Holy Cause that we defend."

The Belgians were in no great haste to call Prussians, English, or Russians "brothers," while the influx of the Cossacks into Brabant made them still more inhospitable to their "saviours." Napoleon's letter demanding "loyalty" awakened little response, however, while the rumour that Holland was to be a kingdom "with an increase of territory" did not allay their apprehensions, even though the General—the Duke of Saxe-Weimar—was declaring that Belgium was practically independent.⁴

An interim government at Brussels was administered by several successive governors. One, a Prussian, Baron de Horst, inaugurated his service with a pompous speech congratulating himself on ruling a people with such a reputation for valour as the Belgians, and then proceeded to fleece them.

When removed from office, he levied a contribution of 10,800,000 francs before he obeyed orders.⁵

Belgian conditions were painful and the drain of allied troops on her soil was heavy, when her future fate became one of the subjects of discussion at the international conferences of 1814 at Châtillon and Chaumont.⁶ The representatives of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England were already at work on the reconstruction as well as the defence of Europe, while Napoleon was but yielding and not yet eliminated. To the conference went a deputation of unrepresented Belgian nobles to make their own statement.⁷ Their alternative propositions were definite. They wished to return to Austria or be formed into a separate government under an Austrian Archduke. "This we have all combated as inconsistent with the preservation of their independence," writes Lord Castlereagh (the English envoy) to Lord Clancarty, ambassador at The Hague. "They begin to understand that to be free, they must be strong; to be strong, they must be incorporated into a large system, and under proper arrangements and securities. Holland is the connection which failing their being reclaimed by Austria, there is every reason to suppose will be the most acceptable and congenial to the people."

Metternich, the Austrian plenipotentiary, endorsed Castlereagh's statement that Europe could not risk having the Belgic provinces left in a

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feeble state and that Austria felt unable to be responsible for their safety. Metternich was accused of substituting the interests of "Europe" for Austria at this time. Certainly he did not seem to have lifted a finger to gain the Belgic lands for his Emperor.

This plan for reuniting the former seventeen Netherland provinces was a perfectly natural one. In the early sixteenth century, the change from a congeries of duchies, countships, etc., to a political unit had almost been accomplished, and again, in 1576, William the Silent thought he was on the brink of a United Netherlands of all instead of the seven which claimed him as a founder of their union. Then had followed two centuries of separation and of divergent life and experiences.

In 1798, Abbé de Pradt wrote two pamphlets recommending the union of what were then the Batavian Republic and French departments⁸ and at about the same time, when the English had some successes in Holland, Pitt expressed the idea of amalgamation in order to exclude French domination.⁹ Seven years later he seems to have been willing for Prussia to take Belgium. As Pitt's disciple and successor, Castlereagh was familiar with the scheme of union and ready to further it.

The first suggestion of this addition to Holland in 1813 did not appeal to the Prince of Orange. His minister Falck¹⁰ says that at that time he himself and his colleague Van Lennep were con-

vinced of the desirability of such a step "when the hour of Napoleon's fall does strike. We ought not to be limited to the freedom of the Fatherland, but we should effect its increase and elevation to a state of the second rank. I found the Prince, when we first touched on the subject, not so warm as I expected. An extension of territory, yes,—that he counted as desirable and necessary, but to rule over Belgium, as a whole, was an undertaking before which he shrank, especially as he did not then know how he was to get on with the Hollanders as sovereign."

Events moved rapidly in the winter months of 1814. When the Treaty of Chaumont was signed by the Allies on March 1st, the union of the Netherlands had been practically acceded to by the Powers, although the agreement did not appear in the public articles, and Napoleon was not wholly eliminated as a factor to be reckoned with. To the very last he tried to assure himself and France a foothold in Brabant. The conference at Châtillon was broken abruptly on March 20th, *re infecta* says Castlereagh, because it was felt that Napoleon was using it to mark time.¹¹ His own version is slightly different, when he was talking over the past as an exile.¹² He told Las Cases that he had valued Antwerp as much as a whole province and that it was one of the causes of his being at St. Helena, for on its account he had refused to sign a peace at Châtillon.

That was his last chance for accommodation. On March 31st, the Allies were in Paris.

It is curious to note that *Le Moniteur*,¹³ which had reported a victory of the Emperor on March 30th, confined its issue on Thursday the 31st, to a literary supplement—devoted to an account in prose and verse of a journey in Italy! News of the Bourse is given and so are the announcements of twelve theatres. Nothing else! On April 1st, Count de Nesselrode has a note in the first column in behalf of *his* Emperor. On the 2nd appeared proclamations of the Czar and of the president of the Senate, by which a provisional government was established, backed by the allied armies, and on the 5th the Senate declared: "*Napoléon déchu du trône.*" On the 6th *le chef de la maison de Bourbon* was called to the throne inherited from St. Louis. No flare headlines proclaim the importance of the news. Then later issues contain acts of adhesion to the Bourbon on the part of one Frenchman after another. These become so numerous that the editor is obliged to cease printing them. On April 11th, Napoleon accepted his fate. When the Treaty of Paris was signed on May 30th, Louis XVIII. was King of France and was willing to acknowledge that the Bourbons had no claim on Antwerp or any part of Belgium.

The open articles relating to Holland and its new frontier were phrased more or less vaguely in the treaties. But the secret agreements were more

specific and these finally took a definite form acceptable to the Powers.

In a conference held at Paris on June 14th, the following principles actuating the powers, relative to the reunion of Belgium to Holland were accepted¹⁴:

"1. This reunion is decided upon by virtue of the political principles adopted by them for the establishment of a state of equilibrium in Europe; they put the principles in execution by virtue of their conquest of Belgium.

"2. Animated by a spirit of liberality, and desiring to assure the repose of Europe by the reciprocal well-being of the parties who compose it, the Powers desire to consult equally the private interests of Holland and of Belgium, to effect the most perfect amalgamation between the two lands.

"3. The Powers believe that they have found the means of attaining this end by adopting, as the base of the reunion, the points of view put forth by Lord Clancarty and accepted by the sovereign prince of Holland.

"The Powers invite accordingly the Prince of Orange to give his formal sanction to the conditions of the reunion of the two countries. Then he may appoint a person charged with the provisional government of Belgium. The governor-general will enter into the functions of the present Austrian governor and shall administer the lands in the

name of the allied Powers until the definite and formal union, which can only take place at the epoch of the general adjustment of Europe.

“The Prince of Orange will be invited, none the less, to proceed on the most liberal schemes, directed by a spirit of conciliation so as to prepare and to effect the amalgamation of the two lands on the bases adopted by the Powers.

“The demands of the Powers to be charged against Holland and Belgium shall be the subject of a private negotiation with the Prince of Orange, wherein England shall be mediator. The negotiation relative to this subject will also take place at Vienna.”

The Prince of Orange and his minister Falck were in Paris when the Russian Nesselrode, the Austrian Metternich, the Prussian Hardenberg, and the English Castlereagh, settled Netherland conditions in the midst of the rest of their business.

“What Paris then was, must have been seen by one’s own eyes to be understood,” wrote Falck. “It was alive not only with military of all languages, nations, and ranks but also of statesmen of every calibre and shade and among their numerous sovereigns, no two with precisely the same aims.” The Dutch found it difficult to get a hearing. “We were shown from Pontus to Pilatus, from Alexander to Metternich, from Metternich to Castlereagh. Fortunately, we could work on the last through Clancarty [English ambassador at

The Hague] who had entrée everywhere." The outcome was a delight to Falck. "The word *joy* I used just now requires an explanation," he declares, adding that the scheme had never been out of his mind since the Abbé de Pradt had published certain articles in 1799.¹⁵ But when it came to the realization of this dream he says: "As a matter of fact, the decision did not rest with the Prince or with any Hollander, let alone myself. The Powers had taken their resolution and especially was it made known that in order to recover our Colonies we must first attain a territorial solidity in Europe as a guarantee that we should not some morning or evening let them fall into the hands of the French."

The Holland statesman was, above all, convinced that any federated union such as that between Hungary and Bohemia, or Norway and Sweden, would be a fatal mistake. "We would have had a Belgian crown and a Holland crown both on the same head, and as a result double legislation, two armies, two treasuries, etc." Lord Liverpool had espoused this co-ordination, but Falck felt it would have vitiated its purpose. All protests on the part of the Belgians were treated like those made at Chaumont. The flood of arguments phrased there were reiterated at Paris.

Did they want independence? Why, isolated Belgium would be a prey to the first breaker of the

peace of Europe! Her independence would end by costing dear to the whole world. Was it not clear that geographical conditions, climate, language, in part at least, customs, made the union of the Dutch and Belgic Low Lands a natural measure? Political interests could be held in common while each system of theology could be allowed to go its own way untrammelled. Nearly all the sovereignties in Europe presented the spectacle of two creeds existing side by side. The King of Saxony was a devout Catholic while keeping the affection of his subjects, zealous Lutherans. Was not the King of Prussia loved by both Catholics and Protestants in his lands? Catholicism was dominant in Silesia, a region where there was peculiar attachment to the sovereign. Assuredly, uniformity of creed is advantageous, but diversity does not preclude the possibility of a government otherwise appropriate. All international *convenances* call for the union of the two peoples and the *convenance* of Europe will preside over the union. A state so placed that it could arrest the first movements of an ambitious foe, a state too weak to conquer by herself, but strong enough not to be conquered without a struggle and without there being time for her defenders to come to her aid. The proposed state is so constituted as to be inoffensive to all, etc. Then consider the advantage to both units—with a joint population of five million! Think

what Frederick has wrought with fewer subjects. Together the lands offer both agricultural and mineral riches, their joint finances would be strong, etc. But, as Falck says, the main thought was that the union suited the Powers of Europe, especially England. Before May 30th, the Prince had returned to The Hague. When Lord Clancarty showed him a draft of the articles he was delighted. "Like a young bridegroom he is, however, extremely impatient for the actual possession of his future bride."¹⁶

In Luxemburg there was a revival of Hapsburg sentiment. There the majority began to weary of France. A local poet expressed himself thus:

Sum petra: petrino non crescunt lilia fundo;
In petris aquilæ nidificare solent.

Rock am I: upon a rocky base, lilies thrive not best,
On lofty crags let eagles build their nest.

One article of the Treaty of Paris provided that, within two months all the Powers engaged in the war should send plenipotentiaries to Vienna to settle in a general congress all the arrangements projected in the Treaty.¹⁷

Two months were over-short, but, finally, in accordance with this general agreement, a gathering of 216 sovereign princes, and plenipotentiaries with a voice of their own, besides a host of ex-rulers mediatized into mere men with a high

pedigree, took place at Vienna in October, 1814. The four great Powers set to work on the desired equilibrium. Little by little France managed to creep up to their side, while the rest looked on and petitioned for, rather than participated in, action. No particular invitations were issued. The article quoted was the sole summons.

As far as the Belgic provinces were concerned, the vital point was already settled. Only details remained to be adjusted. On July 21st, at The Hague, the Prince of Orange had accepted the sovereignty of the united provinces on the basis of eight articles drafted in London.¹⁸ A provisional government was arranged pending the final act of the Congress. The condition was transitional, but the end was in sight.

Luxemburg was, however, to be put on a different footing and the details of her status were discussed, weighed, and definitely settled at Vienna but kept secret for the time being.

In regard to enhancing the position of Holland, apart from the Prince of Orange, England had been the most interested outsider in the negotiations.

In regard to Luxemburg, Prussia's needs were allowed to be the weight to gauge the balance of power.

At the Congress of Vienna, the Sovereign Prince was represented by Baron de Spaen, already his ambassador at Vienna, and Baron von Gagern, a

Nassau official of high standing, who also shared with Baron von Marschall the duty of representing the German branch of the family, the Duke and Prince of Nassau. These latter had been members of the Rhine Confederation, but had cannily severed their connection with Napoleon in time and accepted a convention with Austria at Frankfurt in November, 1813.¹⁹ They had seen to it that the Nassau watches were not a quarter of an hour behind time like that of the King of Saxony's. In the course of the negotiations von Gagern was accused by the Sovereign Prince William of sacrificing his interests to those of his cousin, while the Prussian Stein said that he subordinated Germanizing to Batavizing—*i. e.*, put Netherland interests before Imperial—proof that he probably tried very hard to adjust matters fairly. He tells his own story—a vivid personal narrative.²⁰ Although he was supposed to consider Baron de Spaen as his chief, the brunt of the negotiations fell into his hands and he devoted himself heart and soul to the task. Finding that his colleague was not intending to go to housekeeping until after the Congress, so that Holland possessed no embassy as a background for entertaining, he took the precaution to send to Paris for a first-class cook, to Amsterdam for rare wines to add to his store of Nassau vintage, and rented a fine house lately fitted up for a young bridal couple. He pictured himself as wooing a bride of political

favour for his chief. In all his entertainments he took pains to avoid ostentation while keeping a generous table and open house. And he prided himself on having attained much consideration by this means. There were difficult points in his negotiation that had to be treated so as to spare the feelings of the new king.

At an early stage in the proceedings it had been decided that Luxemburg was to be detached from the provinces to which the *ci-devant* Duchy had been so long attached.²¹ In summarizing the duties of the Congress, Gagern says that they were to consider the satisfaction of Russia, the reconstruction of Prussia, the fate of the Bavarians and Danes, and constitutions for Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Poland. No small orders these. And it was in the reconstruction of Prussia and the constitution of Germany that Luxemburg was to play a part. The idea seems to have been broached at London in June, 1814, of using the Duchy as a convenience, and recurred in various phases from time to time. Later in the summer, it was accepted at a family council of the Netherland and German Nassaus at The Hague.²² The final adjustment involved a triangular arrangement between both branches of the Nassaus and Prussia. Louis XVIII. said of Prussia, that ambition was absolutely necessary for her existence. For her, "Convenience made Right. In this way she has, in the course of sixty-three years,

brought her population from less than four to ten millions. She has a frame that she wishes to fill up. She wishes Luxemburg. All is lost if Mainz be not hers; she can feel no security if she does not control Saxony. The Allies pledged themselves to replace her in the strength enjoyed before her fall—that is to say with 10,000,000 subjects. Let this happen, and she will have 20,000,000 and all Germany will be under her yoke.”²³

In this statement Capefigue attributes greater insight to the Bourbon king than is usually counted as his.

The territorial adjustment made was as follows: The Sovereign Prince—King William—was to receive back his hereditary Nassau estates, Dillenburg, Siegen, Dietz, and Hadamar, and was to cede the same to Prussia in return for Luxemburg; but the latter was to become a family appanage,—like the Nassau lands, and also was to enter the new German Confederation by her duke having a seat in the Diet. The stronghold was to be held in the name of the German Confederation, but Prussia was to supply the garrison.

Prussia scrutinized the proposition very closely. She did not consider that estates which had lost their prerogatives were equivalent to provinces well revenueed, but like a real-estate dealer she saw how she could keep just what she needed the most and exchange the rest, so she agreed. Falck says: “The zealous and far-seeing Stein compared our

unwillingness to make this cession [of the Nassau lands] to the behaviour of a full-grown man who reached the summit of his fortune and then began to cry for the loss of his dolls and swaddling clothes. 'How senseless!' he [Stein] exclaimed."²⁴

And the gentlemen of the Congress had little sympathy with the Prince's reluctance to release those lands. In the division of the spoils was he not getting 4,000,000 new subjects in the richest region of Europe with royal dignity to boot? Moreover were there not over two hundred thousand "souls" and the title of grand duke in the Duchy, as exchange for less than half that number and lesser rank in Nassau? Gagern, too, found another argument to bring his chief to approve the transaction. Prussia wanted Siegen, indeed, but there were certain pieces of land contiguous to her frontier held by the other branch of the Nassaus that she preferred to Hadamar, Dietz, and Dillenburg. So the Duke and Prince proposed to make a fresh barter which would bring the ancestral places back to the Nassau family in exchange for less prized property. In course of time the German line might die out and the Netherland line recover its heritage.²⁵

William finally consented, although he continued to find conditions attached to his possession of Luxemburg very distasteful. Any alien garrison there was a serious disadvantage, especially as it was proposed to station Prussian troops at various

other places on the left bank of the Rhine. At last, however, he bent to this condition as the best obtainable and finally expressed his satisfaction to the Comte de Thiennes:

THE HAGUE, February 23, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE THIENNES:

The despatches received yesterday from Vienna inform me that the great interests that have occupied the Congress so long have been regulated to the general satisfaction and agreed to by Austria, Russia, England, France, and Prussia. All the portions of Belgium formerly held by the first of these Powers have been placed under my sovereignty with the exception of certain portions of the territory of Limburg and Luxemburg and under some modifications in regard to the last duchy. We conserve on the right bank of the Meuse a strip sufficient to guarantee us the free navigation of this river; and the *ci-devant* see of Liége is in the number of the countries which are to compose the new kingdom of the Netherlands.

You will easily appreciate the advantageous effect that these arrangements will have on the happiness of the people whom Providence has called on me to govern, to whom what I have been able to do in these unfavourable circumstances ought to serve as a gauge of my constant solicitude for their veritable interests.

I desire you to convene without delay my Commissioners General and the members of my Privy Council so as to inform them verbally of what I have just told you. Knowing the zeal which animates them for the weal of the country, I doubt not that they will

learn with the same satisfaction as you this news which is to put an end to the uncertainty to which Belgium has been prey and which I was unable to end more speedily.

And this letter having no other purpose, I pray God to have you, Monsieur le Comte de Thiennes, in his holy and worthy protection.²⁶

Six days after this complacent approval of the work of the Congress, Napoleon landed at Gulf Juan and set out on his march to Paris. On March 7th, the news was dropped like a bomb in the midst of a diplomatic reception at the Court of Vienna. "Though there was every attempt to conceal apprehension under the mask of unconcern,"—wrote Lord Clancarty to Castlereagh,²⁷—"it was not difficult to perceive that fear was predominant in all the Imperial and Royal personages there assembled; and, however much their principal officers endeavoured to make light of this event, the task of disguise was too heavy for them."

The writer thought that fear should be encouraged so as to ensure prompt action. And in some cases prompt action was taken.

To strengthen their own hands on every side was the prime care of the Allies. England was quite as anxious as the Sovereign Powers that Belgic provinces should not fall into the power of Napoleon, who had never acknowledged their loss to France. From Vienna, Clancarty wrote on March 17th: "Doubtful whether we shall now

be able to preserve the Pays-Bas and the Duchy of Luxemburg for Holland and its Sovereign, it is scarcely of consequence to tell you that the Duke has sounded both Rassamoufsky [Russian] and Hardenberg [Prussian] to know whether their Courts would have any objection to the Prince of Orange assuming the title of Grand Duke, in lieu of that of Duke, of Luxemburg, and finding them disposed to gratify the Prince in this respect, an article will be proposed for insertion in the Protocol accordingly. The reasons of the Prince for desiring this are two: first, that his House should be placed *au pair* with those princes in the German Confederacy who, without possessing greater territory had assumed this style; and, secondly, to prevent the Luxembourgeois from concluding that all the forms, privileges, and regulations of their Government under the House of Austria should be exactly preserved to them under their new master."²⁸

Clancarty's phrases were pessimistic. But others had sufficient faith in the Allies to continue their plans. Two days before this letter was written the Prince tried to strengthen his own position in the face of the imminent peril. There was an increasing fear lest Napoleon might recover his ceded power and make good his position in Europe once more. In consideration of his reclaiming Belgium for France, the Prince decided to validate his own tenure appointed, but not

confirmed. "The last word respecting the new Monarchy had not yet been uttered at Vienna, and he himself set, as it were, the crown on his head by his proclamation of March 16th, wherein he addressed and encouraged Hollanders and Belgians as his collective subjects and as members of one and the same political family." Such is the statement of his own minister, Falck. From that date on Belgium was considered as part of the new kingdom, and the Sovereign Prince was henceforth called the King while his son was known as the Prince of Orange. Thus they prepared for Waterloo.²⁹

On March 23rd, the Duke of Wellington presided at a session of the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers in Vienna.³⁰ There were present: the Count de Rassamoufsky, the Prince de Metternich, the Duke of Wellington, the Prince de Hardenberg, the Prince de Talleyrand, Baron de Humboldt, Count de Nesselrode, Baron de Wessenberg, —two Prussians, two Austrians, two Russians, one Frenchman, and one Englishman. Wellington read a letter from The Hague announcing that in consideration of the articles adopted by the Congress on February 13th, the Sovereign Prince had assumed the title granted him in order to infuse more strength and unity into the defence needed in Belgium. Wellington moved that the title should be recognized by the Powers, signatories of the Treaty of Paris. He then repeated Article

XXIX. (accepted February 13th) providing that the portions of the Duchy of Luxemburg, therein designated, should form one of the States of the German Confederation and that it should be ceded to the Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces to be possessed by him under the title of the Duke of Luxemburg. He added a motion that this last title should be exchanged for *Grand Duke* of Luxemburg.

The plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia declared that their courts would make no difficulty about recognizing this title in the House of Orange-Nassau. The plenipotentiary of France shared this sentiment. It is not probable that Talleyrand would have made much opposition about any point on that 23rd of March. Napoleon had entered the Tuileries on the 20th, and Talleyrand's own sovereign was an absentee.

The Russian plenipotentiaries had waited to give their approval, but at the time of signing the protocol, they declared that their august master had authorized them to sanction the assumption of the titles of King of the Netherlands and Grand Duke of Luxemburg by the Sovereign Prince.

Thus a nation was created. The discussions at Vienna had to be hurried up so as to allow the Duke of Wellington to resume his military duties and reach Brussels in time. As had been foreseen, the final pitting of strength between the Allies

and the returned exile took place on the soil of Belgium almost within earshot of Brussels. Napoleon had intended to sleep at the Palace of Laeken after he had disposed of the Allied forces and had prepared the following proclamation for distribution in Brabant. A large supply of printed copies of this unpublished address was found in his baggage which was left behind in his haste:³¹

To the Belgians and the People of the Left Bank
of the Rhine.

The ephemeral success of my foes detached you for a moment from my empire. In my exile, on a rock, in the midst of the sea, I heard your complaints. The God of Battles has decided the destiny of your fair provinces. Napoleon is in your midst. You are worthy to be French. Rise *en masse*, rejoin my invincible phalanxes to exterminate the remnant of those barbarians who are your foes and mine. They flee with rage and despair in their hearts.

It was dated from the "Imperial" Palace of Laeken.

Baron von Gagern's duties were not ended with the completion of Nassau business. He took part in the discussion about the German Confederation on behalf of Luxemburg and fought hard for what he held to be the interests of the little state. And in these interests he wanted an empire, and an emperor. Prussia did not, because then the

Emperor would have spelled Hapsburg, and the Prussian Stein won his point. In this decision Luxemburg appeared to have participated, but it was an appearance only, for Baron von Gagern was the sole representative.

All during June, the last of the Hundred Days, when Napoleon was advancing to "rescue" the Belgic provinces from the clutch of the Allied armies, a constitutional convention was sitting at The Hague trying to adapt the articles of 1814, already accepted for Holland, to the enlarged realm. The new King tried very hard to be fair. There had been twelve Protestant Dutch members of the earlier convention. To them were added twelve Belgians—all Catholics. When he asked his minister Falck how he could escape the charge of weighing down the balance to one side or the other in selecting a secretary, the ingenious adviser suggested a Jew. The appointment of J. D. Meyer cut the Gordian knot and provided an efficient official.³²

A regular session took place on Saturday, June 17th, and was adjourned to Monday, 19th, not at all on account of the battle of Waterloo, of which news was still to come, but because the 18th was a Sunday. The discussion on the successions within the Orange-Nassau family went on calmly as though no foe were at the gates. The first news received on the 19th was very discouraging. Then they heard of the "*mémorable bataille du 18*"

and great was the rejoicing. Napoleon was vanquished beyond the hope of retrieving himself and it was plain that the orders of the diplomats were really to become the effective Law of Europe.

They had not waited for Waterloo to complete the work even though Wellington and others had been called from the council chamber to the field.

The Final Act was signed on June 9th by the eight Powers who had been signatories of the Treaty of Paris. Thenceforward Luxemburg was a grand duchy and her Sovereign Duke was a member of the newborn German Confederation in her behalf. Stein, bent on strengthening and consolidating Germany, would have preferred to have William of Orange-Nassau represent his whole kingdom, rather than his somewhat insignificant grand duchy with a Prussian garrison in its famous stronghold. The arrangement was a compromise and possibly regarded by the Prussian statesmen as a mere stop gap, until the Netherlands could be drawn into the German circle at a later date.

After the main points were settled, the triangular land transfer was effected. In return for Luxemburg given to the Dutch Nassaus, Dillenburg, Hadamar, Dietz, and Siegen were bestowed upon Prussia who in her turn released the first three places to the German Nassaus in exchange for certain other territories fairly equivalent in taxes and in "souls." It may be noted that Prussia

succeeded Austria all along the Rhine. The latter lost all territory contiguous to France. Prussia fell heir to much of this and henceforth became the watchdog of the frontier. This was one step towards Prussia superseding Austria as the dominant state in Germany—a reorganized Germany. By these real-estate transactions, Nassau, the Netherlands, and Prussia all obtained better frontiers, although that of the Netherlands was far from satisfying von Gagern.

The articles in the Final Act respecting Luxemburg are as follows:³³

Article LXVII.

The portion of the former duchy of Luxemburg, comprised within the limits specified in the following articles, is equally ceded to the sovereign prince of the United Provinces, today King of the Netherlands, to be possessed in perpetuity by him and his successors in all propriety and sovereignty. The sovereign of the Netherlands will add to his titles that of Grand Duke of Luxemburg, and the faculty is reserved to him to make, relative to the succession in the Grand Duchy, a family compact between the princes, his sons, such as he may deem in conformity to his royal and domestic interests.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, serving as compensation for the principality of Nassau-Dillenburg, Siegen, Hadamar, and Dietz, shall form one of the States of the German Confederation and the Prince, King of the Netherlands, shall enter into this Con-

federation as Grand Duke of Luxemburg, with all the prerogatives and privileges enjoyed by other German princes.

Article LXVIII.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg will be composed of all the territory lying between the realm of the Pays-Bas, as it has been described by Article LXVI., from the Moselle as far as the mouth of the Sure, the course of the Sure as far as the juncture with the Our and the course of this last river as far as the *ci-devant* French canton of St. Vith, which will not belong to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

Article LXIX.

[Duchy of Bouillon.]

His Majesty, King of the Pays-Bas, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, shall possess in perpetuity, for himself and his successors, the full sovereignty of that part of the Duchy not ceded to France by the Treaty of Paris; and under this article, it will be united to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.³⁴

Thus to Luxemburg was assigned the duty of being a hyphen between the Netherlands and Germany. Ultra-Catholic as this conservative region had always been, it was given to an ultra-Protestant as a family heritage. It was a queer fate for the Forest Canton. Its own story will be told later after the outline of the events down to 1839 has been given as a background.

The opening of the Congress had been heralded as the inauguration of a new era when sweet reasonableness and intelligent arbitration were to take the place of the militarism under which Europe had been suffering. As early as 1806, Kant had published a Project of Perpetual Peace, and that was only one of a crop of works on the need of federated action and a united Europe. To the most optimistic of these writers the Congress appeared as the return of a Golden Age. As a matter of fact, it proved to be a diplomatic market and the bargains were made in the interests of sovereigns, not in behalf of peoples. "Legitimate rulers, balance of power, and anti-Revolution" were the slogans. The only subjects of a universal nature touched on were the abolition of slavery and the free navigation of the rivers. All else was discussed from personal points of view and on a give-and-take basis. And even these negotiations were hampered by the tangle of secret pacts existing between various parties.

In January, the meeting almost broke up, under the strain of differences. France, Austria, and England made a secret coalition against Russia and Prussia. But in spite of all obstacles, the work was concluded, work which arrogated to itself ancient prerogatives of Emperor and of Pope in erecting kings and disposing of lands, work which implied a concerted control of particular concerns. And for a period other international

gresses were to follow in order to maintain this
ry of a United Europe.

ere is the summary by Gentz, the Secretary of
Congress, written at Vienna on June 26th
1 the Final Act was about to be published³⁵:

is instrument, as it finally made its appearance
e world, is certainly far from what it could and
t have been, if the Congress of Vienna had ful-
its magnificent task in a manner more satisfac-
for the needs, actual and future, of Europe, more
gous to the principles which should have been
ted unanimously and exclusively by the sover-
and ministers assembled on this great occasion.
filled with imperfections and *lacunæ*; it offers
ng but details and fragmentary arrangements;
s rather the air of a passing transaction than of
rk destined to endure for centuries. However,
being severe, one must be just. The treaty, such
is, has the incontestable merit of paving the way
more perfect constitution. If the great Powers
d ever meet again to work at a political system
onsolidating and maintaining public order in
pe . . .—if ever such a work should be accom-
ed, the Congress of Vienna, considered as a pre-
ory occasion, will not have been without value.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLT OF THE BELGIC PROVINCES, 1830

THE kingdom made in Vienna was short-lived. There are Dutch writers who declare that all went well for thirteen years, but that view is hardly borne out by facts. Germs of discord were planted in the phraseology of the very first articles dealing with the proposed union. The use of the words "an increase of territory"—*un accroissement de territoire*—for Holland and "a perfect amalgamation" of the two lands was ominous. Belgium objected to being classed as an *addition*, and soon felt that this amalgamation was that of one fish being swallowed by another, which was, moreover, smaller than itself. The sum of the inhabitants of all the Dutch and Belgic provinces was something over 5,000,000, of which the Hollanders counted less than 2,000,000. Indigestion was the natural result.

Between the framing of the plan of union and its fulfilment, many months elapsed, during which the Sovereign Prince was simply acting as ruler in Belgium in the name of the Allies. At this time Holland's minister, Falck, found a sullen indiffer-

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ence in the land. As a matter of fact, probably many hopes were current that the outcome would be something other than the provisions of the Treaty of Paris. The idea of the return to Austrian suzerainty was not wholly abandoned, there was no profound conviction that Napoleon was gone for good, while the continued presence of the Allied troops in their midst did not win friends for the Powers. Undoubtedly there prevailed an exasperated sense of Belgium's fate being in the hands of others, beyond Belgic control. Lord Castlereagh had desired that no territory should be disposed of at Vienna without some expression on the part of the inhabitants thereof. But the Belgians were unrepresented. The plaint that they were sold so that Holland might retain her most precious colonies found voice among them, even if it were unheeded by the Powers.

Yet the first measures taken when the consolidation actually was enforced seemed propitious for a recognition of their rights.

The composition of the Constitutional Commission as described by Falck promised equality. In June, 1815, the twelve deputies from the Southern provinces were sitting in council with an equal number from the Northern, preparing amendments to the new Dutch constitution so that the document would provide for the needs of the people in the "addition of territory."¹ As the work approached completion, the discussion about its in-

troductioin in Belgium—continued through several sessions—proved that the true nature of the latter's part in the new realm was still a debatable question.

Several of the Belgians held that there was no change in their political status, that their ancient rights repeatedly recognized by Austria were preserved, while others argued that hitherto they had been several states and were now become one, that the change was radical and must be approved by a referendum of some kind as a proper liberal measure. Holland could let her States General be her spokesman. Belgium no longer had such an assembly. A body of notables would be the proper body to pass on the articles. One deputy, Dotrenge, who played a part in the later troubles, declared that if Belgium were not treated like Holland, she would always feel like a *pays conquis*.

Count de Thiennes did not agree with his colleague. He argued: Holland changes her constitution radically, Belgium does not. Through this constitution were restored ancient rights exactly as they obtained under the Austrian regime. "Let the King simply publish the modified constitution. He will thus act as the Powers desire. There is no need of thousands giving their assent."

Dutch opinion was in favour of the endorsement by the Belgians. To their mind it brought them more patently into the body politic. "The approval of 1500 selected spokesmen of the nation

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would affect popular sentiment, just as the approval of the commissioners must. It is certainly necessary that every Belgian should think so" was the assertion of the Dutch Van Hoogendorp. His colleague, Elout, was more emphatic in his opinion and less courteous. He declared roundly that the Powers had disposed of Belgium by right of conquest—*par droit de conquête les puissances ont disposé de la Belgique*—and that the Belgians were bound to accept the fact.

This was a line of argument that hurt the Belgians keenly. They refused to admit that they were to be treated simply as a conquest of the Powers. Had not the Emperor of Austria acted in their behalf when the Treaty of Paris was made? "The Allies, far from declaring war on us assured us by their proclamation that they were only taking defensive measures against Napoleon and were about to re-establish us in our ancient rights," etc.²

But, at the best, the Belgic voice was feeble. The motion was carried to submit the intended constitution to the approval of an assembly of notables, 1600 in all; about one for every 2000 inhabitants, appointed by the King from lists made out for him. The result was an unpleasant surprise to William I.

The articles adopted instituted an autocratic regime in behalf of the King. The authority of the Crown established in the Dutch constitution,

already accepted, was practically increased. The legislative body was to consist of two Houses or Chambers,—the Upper House composed of 60 life members appointed by the Crown, and the Lower of 110, 55 from Holland and 55 from Belgium—all alike elected by the Provincial Estates. The Second Chamber could amend but not reject measures; it passed the budget, indeed, but the ordinary appropriations were for a term of ten years. The ministry was responsible to the King only. Thus all executive action was really under his control. The proportion of representatives had been hotly discussed before the quota of the same number for each section had been reached, irrespective of the larger majority of inhabitants in Belgium. Holland urged her greater wealth and prestige, besides her colonies—quite unrepresented—as a balance to the population of Belgium, and, as said before, Holland had the upper hand and kept it. There was one marked change from the judicial system to which Belgium had grown accustomed. The jury system was abolished. The judges were supreme.

On July 18th—one month after Waterloo—the King announced by a royal proclamation that the Constitutional Commission had finished its labours. Simultaneously he made public for the first time the eight articles adopted in London, June, 1814.³ Now, the second of these articles provided that to all religious beliefs should be assured protection

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and equal favour, and guaranteed the eligibility of all citizens to public office irrespective of creed.

This was a proviso which the Belgic clergy were by no means inclined to let pass. For twenty-five years, they had been obliged to endure what they had felt to be insults to the Church. In this epoch of reaction and renewal of legitimacy, they hoped to regain all that had been lost. They were unwilling to trust spiritual matters to the guidance of a Protestant king, even though their spokesman, Maurice de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, had declared that William had a charming personality. The Bishop had sent a long message to the Congress of Vienna setting forth the conditions needful to make Belgium safe under the new regime. Among his stipulations were the following⁴:

The Catholic Church must be supreme. In Belgium the King might have a Protestant service in a private chapel within his palace, but no other non-Catholic service was to be allowed in the land. Titles should be revived. Every question relating to the Church must be settled by the Church without State interference. All education to be controlled by the Church and the Jesuits to be allowed to return. In other pamphlets the bishop had declared that any project of general religious toleration was as objectionable as pantheism and not to be endured.

Such convictions were hardly compatible with the nineteenth century. A small section of

Europe could not be allowed to shut itself off from all principles of toleration. Reaction could not go so far—yet the crop of pamphlets that sprang into existence from writers of all degrees proved how widespread and deep rooted was the sentiment. There were few Belgians willing to agree with Dotrengé that the Catholic demand was excessive and that the clergy wanted nothing less than an *imperium in imperio*.

From August 8th to 18th, the Dutch States General, in double number, discussed the amended constitution. They, too, were jealous of any invasion of their Church, and raised a few objections on that score as well as other points. For instance: the King's Protestantism was not stated with sufficient emphasis, the order of ranking the provinces was not satisfactory, but above all the regulations about the open meetings of the States General were highly objectionable. "Public sessions only tended to the satisfaction of the curiosity of a few and a desire on the part of others to make a show of their eloquence." But they finally gave unanimous approval to the amended articles.

Before the Belgian notables voted, the King received personal remonstrances from some of them. One declared that the draft of the constitution was a foe to his true interests, to those of the nation and of the Allies, and that every good Catholic would reject it. Others that they could not possibly serve under the provisions.

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The Belgians appointed proved to be, as a rule, fervently Catholic. The fact that Napoleonic officials were counted as ineligible restricted the choice to the more conservative element.

The votes were taken in twenty-nine districts, and the presidents of each section delivered the result in Brussels on August 18th. 1603 notables had been convened, 1323 exercised the franchise, and the majority for rejection of the constitution was 269,—527 votes for, and 796 against.

The King was unwilling to accept such a decision. He cut the Gordian knot by analysing the vote and drawing arbitrary conclusions which suited his own requirements. Two hundred and eighty electors had abstained from exercising their franchise. Let their votes be counted in the affirmative! *Leur absence peut être envisagée comme une preuve de leur adhésion.*

One hundred and twenty-six negative votes, given because the provision *in re* religion could not be approved, were rated as invalid, because that point had been settled by the Powers and was not open to acceptance or rejection. Then the affirmative (?) Belgian votes were added to the sum of the Holland vote and a majority obtained for the constitution.

Falck advised this arbitrary proceeding, but approval was not universal. Advocate von der Spijk asked the minister how he dared to pit the minority against the majority. "It could not

pass muster; the Belgians would not consent to be rated as fools," etc. Falck's further comments on the matter seem rather disingenuous. He says that many votes were given on purely trivial grounds,—to please a rich neighbour, for instance! Further, he urges that in those early years after Napoleon, there was little real understanding of a constitution. People simply wanted *something*. As a matter of fact, the King acted promptly so as to put an end to his own practical dictatorship and to give the Belgians some rights.

On August 24th, the King proclaimed the articles as the law of the land. Baron von Gagern sent them express to Metternich, Hardenberg, Castlereagh, and Nesselrode, and received warm congratulations that the work begun by Austria, Prussia, England, and Russia had been so satisfactorily completed.

If the King's ancestor, that William of Nassau called the Silent, who had united the seventeen provinces revolting against Spain, in 1576, for a brief period, had been in the place of the Dutch monarch, under the conditions of the nineteenth century more favourable to general principles of practical toleration, undoubtedly the Netherlands would have remained united. His phrase, "The difference is too small to remain separated about," would have found a sufficient support to enable him to carry out his policy without antagonizing the Catholic party. It is noteworthy how

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patriots like Nothomb, strongly anti-Orangist, quote his words in justification of their own action.

One gain came to the annexed territory, because the epoch of union was a period in which a real Belgian nationality took on a more tangible form. Aspirations of 1789, latent and inactive for years, found hospitality. Little by little, the old provinces that had held tenaciously to their ancient local traditions and had each preserved a separate provincial existence while looking to an outside political authority, discovered that they had, indeed, a common cause. More and more, was the conviction forced upon them that they were a people dominated by another people, and they hated the idea, until in their minds King William I. became a simple personification of the Hollanders. Moreover, Nothomb, deputy from Luxemburg, declared that this was peculiarly harassing as the "masters had neither superiority in numbers nor in intellect, and for dominion either the one or the other is necessary. A progressive population struggles against a stationary nationality; a Southern people, young and impregnated with modern ideas, drags towards a new civilization a Northern people old and living in the past."⁵ As the prevalent opinion expressed by Dutch writers was that it was the Belgians who lived in *their* past, the fundamental incompatibility becomes patent. What is more, the Belgian conviction came hand in hand with a sense of prosperity,

and it was this greater well-being that gave them courage to resist. The better commercial conditions, the cessation of intensive military demands, the opening of the Scheldt and other markets to their products and their materials, the influx of English tourists upon the Continent, brought money to their purses and better food to their mouths. There was a personality, a stalwartness about the nascent nation in 1830 that had been entirely lacking in 1815. Out of bitterness there really came the sweetness of improved material conditions which gave strength.

The whole story can not be related in detail. With a perspective of eighty-seven years indeed, details that seemed to have been potent forces when looked at in 1831 or 1832 sink into insignificance when looking back from 1918.

At first, there were various concessions to national and religious sentiments which smoothed over the early years of the realm. Then the King began to make certain educational regulations, very similar to those of Joseph II., which excited antagonism in the Clerical party. The institution of a Supreme Court at The Hague, to which all cases of a certain type were to be appealed—and they were not a few—aroused opposition among the lawyers, who saw themselves obliged to incur travelling and hotel expenses in behalf of their clients besides loss of time. Taxes on grinding wheat and on slaughter—*mouture* and *abattage*—

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struck a blow at the agricultural class, and through them at all classes, for it was a tax on the very staples of life,—bread and meat. Regulations that enforced the use of Dutch as the sole legal language also affected nearly all classes in the bi-lingual land. Flemish was the native speech in Flanders and in some regions to the north, while Walloon prevailed along the valley of the Meuse, in Hainaut and generally in the southern parts. Fundamentally, Flemish does not differ from Dutch as used in Holland, but it has been less carefully treated and allowed to become debased for formal purposes, and for relations with the outside world, even with the Walloons, French was the vehicle employed. It did not appeal especially to Flemings to brush up their speech for its cognate Dutch. The Walloon dialects, differing greatly in villages only a few miles apart, were Latin with some Teutonic mixture, insufficient however, to make Dutch comprehensible without actual acquisition. The common educated speech was French, and, naturally, its usage had increased during the Republican and Napoleonic periods. To these people, an insistence on Dutch as an official vehicle of speech was an unendurable hardship. They could be bi-lingual as their ancestors had been, but the acquisition of a third vocabulary was more than an inconvenience. The King's effort "to promote patriotism, civic virtue, and the preservation of a national character," by

the use of one speech, thus failed of its desired end in the Meuse region.

There was much disappointment about the failure to give Brussels importance equal to The Hague as a capital, but that was a minor point compared with infringements of the liberty of the press which began shortly after 1820, and became tense in 1828 with the arrest of De Potter, editor of the *Courrier des Pays-Bas*, and his condemnation to eighteen months in prison, where, however, he did not cease to write, and later, to eight years' exile. De Potter was only one among many journalists attacked. Editors, contributors, and printers of publications like the *Utopiansche Courant*, the *Journal de Gand*, the *Flambeau*, the *Vrai Libéral*, the *Courrier de Flandre*, etc., were also arrested, fined and imprisoned because of published criticism of the administration. This determination to muzzle all freedom of speech touched the Liberals to the quick and drove them into a coalition with the Catholic party, although the latter was still bitterly antagonistic to certain principles saved from the ruins of the French Revolution, to which the former clung tenaciously.

One other burden must be recalled in connection with the cumulative list—one that was, however, as old as the union itself. In 1815, the Dutch were very deeply in debt, the Belgians less so. The degree to which the latter should be involved was a burning question at the outset of the union,

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and when the adjustment was finally made, a larger share of interest was allotted to them than they thought just. Thus, taking it all in all, here were grievances financial, linguistic, professional, religious, and restrictive as to freedom of speech, grievances which made the Belgians forget the many material advantages they had gained. The discontent began to be acute in 1828, when some of the objectionable legislation was but newly proposed. "Until late in 1828, we lived in good accord with our colleagues of Holland," says M. de Gerlache, member of the States General, and later present at the Conference of London, in his own history of the crisis. "They affected certain airs of superiority which kept us apart. There was no antipathy between us, but also no intimacy. I did not know a single Belgian during my sojourn at The Hague who was on intimate friendly terms with a Hollander. Our compatriots who lived at The Hague with their families as officials for fifteen years declared that they were as much strangers on the last day as they were on the first."⁶

At the beginning of 1828, this alienation increased from the causes enumerated above. De Potter was ready to propose a complete administrative separation of the two groups. Under the stress of profound dissatisfaction a flood of petitions poured into The Hague demanding redress and above all stable terms of judges, no matter what

their decisions had been, and ministerial responsibility. For there was at first a disposition to charge, in loyalty to the King, obnoxious acts to the account of ministers like Van Maanen who had made himself hateful. It was in truth long before deference to the Nassaus was completely abandoned.

In 1830 occurred the July revolution in Paris. Charles X., who had succeeded his brother Louis XVIII. in 1824, pushed his unpopular reactionary measures to a breaking point. Three days of mild rebellion sufficed to banish him and his methods from the throne and to place his cousin d'Orleans in his stead as a democratic constitutional king of the French, styled Louis Philippe, in order to start a distinctly new dynasty different in every particular from the ancient regime of divers Bourbons. The constitutional monarchy of 1815 had been a simple expedient, not a growth. The children of the Revolution had never been satisfied. Here was a Bourbon willing to wear the tri-colour. That was something that appealed both to Bonapartist and Republican. The monarchy of 1830 had not arrived in Paris packed up in the enemy's baggage. That was something too. It was the choice of the French if not of all of them.

In the course of the decade 1820-30 there had been, moreover, several successful revolutionary movements in various parts of the world, not all

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as bloodless as that of Paris,—in Spain, in South America, in Poland, and in Greece. The last was a very remarkable uprising as a nascent sense of nationality had displayed sufficient vitality and potency to dislodge the Turk, partially at least, from his dominion of nearly four centuries.

All this effervescence in the world was terribly contagious. That is, dissatisfaction with local political conditions was far more likely to find expression in words and deeds in the midst of general protest against autocratic action. Undoubtedly the French spirit found an echo in Brussels and undoubtedly, too, there were suggestions that Louis Philippe possessed precisely the characteristics needed for a Belgian sovereign—language, religion, sympathy, and propinquity. But the idea of annexation to France never found wide-spread acceptance. As in 1789, the impulse to revolt was perhaps French-inspired, but the goals to be reached on the march to freedom were different.

At the beginning of the Belgic revolt, the first cry was simply for an independent administration with William I., king at Brussels as at The Hague—for a separation of the interests of the North and the South—for Home Rule. The first violent outbreak occurred on August 25th, when in honour of the King's birthday there was a gala performance of *La Muette de Portici*, an opera depicting an uprising in Naples in 1648 and filled with

inspiring revolutionary airs. The Prince of Orange, attempting to smooth over matters, found the colours of Brabant displayed in open opposition to those of his House, and suffered experiences that showed the intense popular antagonism to his nation and a waning of his own popularity. Still, he returned to The Hague not unwilling to espouse the scheme of administrative separation between Holland and Belgium such as existed in Norway and Sweden. The revolt of August 24th was on the anniversary not only of the King's birthday, but of the proclamation of the constitution which endured just fifteen years.

On November 18th, not quite three months later, a Belgian Congress published a Declaration of Independence, and a few days afterward the same body formally pronounced the exclusion of the Nassau family from all participation in the government of Belgium.

The events of the ninety odd days, between the above events, are confused if looked at as a whole. If considered in three parallel lines each thread of striving and of action becomes fairly distinct, as well as the points of contact and entanglement. At The Hague, King William regarded the revolt as a simple riot of disaffected subjects to be put down energetically, while out of his liberality he was willing to redress certain grievances. So he went to work, convened the States General:—the First Chamber and the fifty-

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five Dutch members, and the fifty-five Belgians of the Second Chamber. They met together for the last time—although King William did not so rate it—on September 13th and proceeded to discuss the difficulties, and the unanimous desire of the Belgians for administrative separation between their provinces and Holland actually brought about the appointment of a commission to consider that step. It never functioned. At Brussels, the Prince of Orange, more popular than his father, showed himself quite willing to aid the separatist movement and returned to The Hague with that intention. But, unfortunately, contemporaneously with pacific reform measures, the King sent his second son Frederick, brought up mainly under Prussian influences, to Brussels with 10,000 troops to guard against disturbance. More than a disturbance took place. The Belgians, ill-equipped and untrained, closed with the Dutch in open hostilities, and Prince Frederick returned home discomfited and defeated. In his final defeat, September 26th, the Dutch losses were 750 dead and 2000 wounded,—while the unskilled foe counted 400 dead and 1100 wounded.⁷ It was a four days' campaign disastrous to Dutch prestige. This success changed the situation at Brussels. It was after it, indeed, that the States General appointed the commission without realizing that a change had come over the spirit of Belgian dreams. Every conciliatory move on

the King's part was made too late—after the psychological moment,—the potential moment of success. And it was the same thing with the Prince of Orange. His loyalty to his father prevented him from taking independent action promptly. He could have led the rebels, but he would not when the opportunity offered.

The third line of action was staged in England and began a little later. King William I. turned to the Powers who had given him Belgium and asked them to reprove the rebels and enforce peace. Their answer was the appointment of delegates to a conference in London to talk over the difficulties. On November 4th, the sessions were opened, hardly to William's satisfaction. Less pacific measures seemed to him more suitable under the circumstances.

But, pending the decision of the plenipotentiaries, the Belgians did not sit idle. A provisional government had been set up at Brussels. The members began their duties humbly on September 26th, gathered about a table of white wood, illuminated by two candles set in bottles. They were almost without a penny, but they made good their position and were recognized as able to sign the armistice on November 16th recommended by the conference. Each belligerent withdrew behind the border that had separated them on May 30, 1814. In this act, accepted by William I., it was stated that the duration of the armistice

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was to be specified later. It never was defined, and it was on that ground that he renewed hostilities in 1831. The malcontents then went further on the way to become Revolutionists. A National Congress, elected on a very liberal franchise, assembled at Brussels on November 10th. This was the body that declared Belgian Independence on the 18th.

Le Congrès National de Belgique proclame l'indépendance du peuple belge, sauf les relations du Luxembourg avec la confédération germanique.

No one wavered. The one hundred and eighty-eight deputies present voted unanimously. In the succeeding sessions occurred stormy debates as to the next move. What should be the form of government? Opinions were various. Nothomb declared that they could be a power as a Monarchy, while Europe would fear a Republic as a dangerous germ of democracy. And Nothomb was a young moderate Liberal from Luxemburg, member of the diplomatic committee of the provisional government, later deputy to the Conference in London though without a voice and close in touch with affairs local and European. A referendum to the people on that issue was moved and defeated. Constitutional monarchy was the order of the day in 1830. The majority of orators spoke in a strain very different from that harped on in 1790. The United States of America, the object of adulation in the last quarter of the

eighteenth century, was more doubtfully regarded in the nineteenth. Many speakers predicted the dissolution of the Federal Union by the wedge of slavery and on account of the over-expansion westward. Monarchies like that of England or the new brand adopted by France were felt to be safer political structures. On November 22nd the question was put to vote, 187 delegates were present and the majority for monarchy was overwhelming—174 for and only 13 against, in favour of a Republic. This decision did not, however, carry with it a complete abandonment of the Nassaus. A small party clung to the idea that the Prince of Orange could be separated from his father and taken as a Belgian sovereign. England was quite willing to further this plan and the Prince obtained much encouragement in London, although it was a constant annoyance to find that the Conference was inclined to treat him and Falck on little different basis from Count Vilain XIV and his colleague representing the Belgians. But the next move in the Congress settled that point decisively. On November 23rd, the question of excluding the Nassau family permanently from any participation in the new government was decided by a vote of 161 to 28 votes. Belgium had made her choice. Probably fate helped them somewhat by removing Wellington just at that crisis from the head of affairs. Palmerston succeeded him with a Liberal cabinet who were willing

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to be more lenient towards Belgian opinion. It was plain that the opposition was to the dynasty, not to the theory of hereditary rulers. The minutes of the session show how weak was the Republican idea.

This was terribly disappointing to one party and especially to Louis de Potter. That sturdy defender of Free Speech had returned in triumph from exile on September 27th. His journey from Lille to Brussels had been a progress of triumph. Hailed as the Belgian Lafayette and applauded until the adulation went, like incense, to his head, de Potter had dreamed of a Republic with himself as president. On his entry into Brussels, he had been promptly elected a member of the Provisional Government by acclamation.

When the Congress assembled, it was he who presided until M. Surlet de Chokier, an old Liège nobleman, a moderate Liberal, was elected President of the Congress. For about six weeks de Potter was the most popular man in Belgium. But he soon felt himself out of sympathy with the Revolutionists. When he noted an anti-democratic spirit he began to advise annexation to France. "France and Belgium shall be like two Swiss cantons, like two States of the American Union."⁸ He thought that their only rivalry would be their love of liberty and justice. He was sure that if the French people declared their will the French Ministry would not dare oppose them, and Euro-

pean diplomacy would be resigned. Belgian patriots thought the plan was too favourable to France,—French, too favourable to Belgium. With all the weapons in his power de Potter then tried to prevent the election of the candidate that seemed the probable choice. But his articles in the *Courrier* and the *National* were not convincing, nor was his French sympathy. He wanted to replace the Lion at Waterloo with a monument to Free France and Belgium—as a symbol of the brotherhood of the two nations. To an English alliance he was bitterly opposed. Feeling that he had no support, the disappointed Radical resigned his post and returned to France.

In London, the Conference did not take up arms nor hasten to censure the Belgians for their rebellion against the legitimate King, as William expected them to do. To the infinite surprise of that monarch, on December 20th, the Conference issued a protocol stating: “The events of the last four months have, unfortunately, proven that *cet amalgame parfait et complet* which the Powers wished to effect between the two countries has not been obtained and cannot now be effected.”⁹ This was practically a recognition of the rebels.

On December 26th, a deputy, M. Van de Weyer, congratulated the Congress at Brussels that at the expiration of just four months Belgium was admitted to the European family of nations.

King William, on his part, *apprit avec une douleur profonde la détermination* of the Powers, and declared that the dissolution of the tie formed between Holland and Belgium was entirely outside of the province of the Conference. He had asked them to co-operate in the establishment of order. They were not empowered to dismember the realm, etc. He was hurt. His dignity was wounded. He had no appreciation of his own shortcomings.

The Belgians replied that there was nothing sacred about a fifteen-year-old kingdom, made before their eyes at Paris and Vienna. William talked in the phrases of a mediæval monarch. His attitude was out of date, etc. William was represented in London by Minister Falck who was not, however, a member of the Conference. The Prince of Orange was also there frequently, and found sympathy on England's part but no disposition whatever to take up arms in his behalf.

The fact was that no one wanted a European war. Fifteen years had not sufficed to obliterate the memory of the Napoleonic carnage and the kindling of another conflagration was dreaded unspeakably. The several local conflicts were disquieting and there was dread lest the dynastic revolts should again be subversive of all order. Metternich in Austria and the Czar were much alarmed lest there should be a revival of the hateful Revolution, but they were deeply involved in the

Polish difficulties and were hardly inclined to interfere in the Netherlands. The pressing need for keeping a stalwart bulwark against possible French aggression, which had existed in 1815, was lessened in 1830 by Louis Philippe's declaration of a principle of non-intervention. The French king was not liked any too well by the autocrats, and his footing was too unstable for him to run any risks of exciting militant antagonism. The principle of non-intervention was directly opposed to the idea of a kind of international police inherent in the theory that the Powers were authorized to interfere in domestic concerns, if they felt the peace of Europe to be at stake. But there were potent reasons why it was convenient. Prussia was interested in the Nassaus for family reasons, but the King was old and, though he hated any semblance of popular interference in state affairs, he was not eager to take the trouble of suppressing it. His troops were ready, to be sure, but he did not care to go further than that. England was as much interested as Prussia, because the Netherlands kingdom was her protégé, but Wellington, joint sponsor for it with Castlereagh in 1815, was, as long as he was in power, quite unwilling to fight to patch up the broken work of his own hands. The Peace of Europe was the prime concern of all. Europe had to be made safe for Legitimacy, although the type of 1830 had rather a strange aspect to some eyes. Still the belief

that Diplomacy could remedy all defects was paramount.¹⁰

Very encouraging to the patriots at Brussels was the December protocol of the Conference. Before selecting a king they framed a constitution to their taste to have it ready for a ruler's acceptance.

The articles, highly liberal and anti-autocratic, were accepted on February 7th. The ultra views of Catholics like the late Bishop de Broglie found no hearing, although the Church was duly protected by a separation of Church and State.

On June 20th, in their eleventh protocol the London Conference staked out Belgium's claim by assigning to Holland her boundaries of 1790, and to Belgium all the rest of the existing kingdom except Luxemburg, which, however, they promised to help her buy. Likewise Belgium was to bear $\frac{16}{31}$ of the debt and to be perpetually neutral. England, Austria, Russia, France, and Prussia were to see to it that there was no infringement of this neutrality. The provisions were not wholly satisfactory. The criticism of the Belgian Government was that the Conference had overstepped its prerogatives. They counted its mission as wholly philanthropic (*comme toute philanthropique*) and designed to stop the effusion of blood without prejudice to the solution of the political and territorial question. France took the same view. General Sebastiani said: "*La Conférence de Londres*

est une médiation et l'intention du roi est qu'elle ne perde jamais ce caractère.

But the Belgian Congress concluded it would be wise to elect her executive and trust to him to obtain some modification of the unwelcome conditions. Many potential candidates were suggested. The Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugene Beauharnais, was both liked and feared on account of his Napoleonic connection. There was Otto of Bavaria—too young,—Lafayette who had recently embraced Louis Philippe in view of all Paris, thus showing his opinion of a Constitutional king, yet his sympathy with the Republican tradition and the type of George Washington was well known. His election would have been democratic. The old nobleman Surlet de Chokier, already acting as Regent in the interim, found much favour. But he was old and lacked the powerful friends that a high born foreigner would bring in his baggage. Would not a son of Louis Philippe make the French frontier very safe? That idea prevailed. The first ballot gave the Duke of Nemours 97, Leuchtenberg 74, and an Austrian Archduke 21 votes. But Louis Philippe, under a suggestion from London, was afraid that the establishment of his son as a brother king at his gate might be counted as an infraction of his boasted non-intervention, so he refused the honour. Again there was doubt.

At last out of the group Leopold of Saxe-

Cobourg emerged as a very desirable candidate for the second election. This was not a choice to please the Nassaus. In 1815, when the Prince of Orange wooed Charlotte, only child and heiress of George IV., she had preferred this Leopold who might have been Prince Consort of the Queen of England, had his wife survived her father. Charlotte's death at the end of one year of marriage prevented that, but Leopold had continued his residence in England and was a highly dignified and respected English gentleman. Had Victoria, daughter of his own sister, the Duchess of Kent, come to the throne as a minor, Leopold would probably have been regent. Early in 1830, he was selected by the Powers who were backing Greece as King of that realm. But he refused the post because he was sure that the Greek patriots would never agree to return all the territory promised to the Turks and would oppose any sovereign who tried to do so. That he was a Protestant would seem to have been an insuperable obstacle for a ruler in Catholic Belgium. But the constitution had separated Church and State. Clerical affairs were safely in the hands of ecclesiastics and moreover it was urged by a liberal Catholic that this very fact would prove to the world that the Belgians were less narrow-minded and bigoted than the Dutch declared them to be, and, at an early stage in the negotiations, carried on by four

Belgian commissioners, it was suggested that a daughter of Louis Philippe would be an eligible bride for the widower—a suggestion that proved acceptable to Leopold who was also willing to agree unofficially that the possible children of the marriage should be educated as Catholics. This informal understanding paved the way for the election on June 4th. One hundred and fifty-two votes were cast in the Congress for and forty-three against, Leopold. The majority was clear.

There was little delay. The sovereign-elect resigned his English pensions and prepared to assume his new duties. On July 17th, he arrived in Belgium and was formally recognized as King of the Belgians on the 21st and hailed as Defender of the new Constitution. He took up his residence in the Palace of Laeken, built by Christine and Albert when they were trying to identify themselves with and become naturalized in Brabant. Here was a leader who was to be more successful in a task more difficult than theirs. Belgium really had obtained a spokesman able to make his voice heard in their behalf throughout Europe. There was hardly another man at that moment who could have gained for them as good a hearing as Leopold did. He had peculiar qualifications in his relationships. German by inheritance, linked to England by his past and present and to France by his future connections, he was able to make his voice heard, while Louis Philippe's declared

principle of non-intervention allayed the apprehension that might have been felt on account of his alliance with that monarch.

From the outset, Leopold acted as though he were Belgian born. He identified himself with the national interests. While preserving his own dignity he continued to avoid antagonizing friend or foe, showing himself a master in practical politics.

There were many critics on the wharves as the little ship of state set sail.

The Hollander Falck has difficulty in expressing himself calmly as he writes about the Revolution. From his post in London he had watched with his own eyes the Conference destroy the work of 1815 which had given him such joy. To his mind it was simply scandalous to treat the Belgian rebels mildly and then to class them in the same category as the King who had been solemnly put in charge of the Peace of Europe by the Powers.

It was inconceivable that in 1830 they could permit the structure they had reared for their own sake, to be demolished rudely, etc.¹¹ Talleyrand, too, was very cynical about the new kingdom. He had advised division of Belgian territory between Prussia, Holland, and France. He had no faith in the staying power of a small exposed state. Even Louis de Potter was willing to see his country lose her identity as long as it could not be a republic. He had no confidence in a government which he rated as hybrid.

King William responded to the announcement of a new incumbent of his Brussels throne by despatching a military force—better organized than when the defection of the Belgians was a recent event—to uphold his rights. The Belgians were not prepared and their sovereign was new to his harness and in no position to make effective resistance. But, remembering the success of the previous September, the Belgians thought they could make good by themselves before the arrival of their allies. The result was disastrous. A ten-day campaign brought victory and fresh determination to the Dutch, who, however, paused in their advance, before an English fleet on one side and French soldiers on the other. The latter did not actually engage with the Hollanders, and 30,000 troops to feed was a problem for Belgium, but there was a pause in hostilities and even England felt that matters must be settled.

“To reach a result,” said Palmerston, “it is necessary that we say once for all, this is what belongs to each. For, as far as reaching an understanding themselves, the two parties would not do it in six weeks or six years if they did it then.”

But the military advantage gained by the Dutch really hurt the Belgium cause materially. In October, the Conference—which had issued protocol after protocol—gave forth a treaty known as the twenty-four articles, defining the rights of the two kingdoms, which Leopold for-

mally accepted. The conditions were so hard that he would have preferred resigning to so doing, but Lord Palmerston and Baron Stockmar persuaded him to make the best of it. And the fate of Luxemburg was the crucial point.

These articles gave to the Holland-Belgian difficulties an entirely new solution. The Conference performed the act that Solomon had recommended. The child claimed by two parents was divided. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was cleft in twain! The Conference consented to accord to Belgium the Walloon section—three fifths of the province. The German section with the city of Luxemburg was to remain in possession of the King of the Netherlands as Grand Duke of Luxemburg. As compensation for land thus taken from the King of Holland, the Conference ceded to him, besides the city of Maestricht, all that part of Limburg situated on the right bank of the Meuse, as well as the northern point of this province with the cities of Ruremonde and Venloo. The Dutch enclaves on the left bank of the Meuse were to return to Belgium. Finally the Conference, in spite of the reclamations of France, assigned to Holland both banks at the mouth of the Scheldt. The other points already agreed on respecting Belgium's neutrality and her duty of preserving the same towards all lands were repeated.

Belgium did not accept the dictum in regard to Luxemburg quietly. It was a bitter necessity.

The treaty was signed in London, November 15th by M. Van de Weyer in Leopold's name, and during the succeeding six months received the signatures of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France. Belgium became the ward of Europe. But then came a pause in proceedings.

The King of Holland refused to accept the treaty. In 1833, however, he was forced into a truce which left Belgium in possession of Limburg and Luxemburg while he held the Belgian forts—Lille and Liefenshoek. Thus matters rested for six more years—six years during which Leopold I. by the exertion of infinite patience and marvellous tact brought up his small adopted land to a worthy position. It was no slight task and a character of peculiar steadiness and effectiveness was needed to guide it. To be able to receive half contemptuous treatment with dignity—and to do so until contempt turned into respect—was what Leopold actually succeeded in accomplishing while William I. was confidently anticipating failure and the return of Belgium to him—its “natural protector.”

The final disposition of Luxemburg was not concluded until 1839. The details belong to its own nineteenth century story to which this general account of the beginnings of independent Belgium is a vital part.

Fate made two great mistakes as arbiter of Netherland destinies. The seventeen provinces

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should have clung together in the sixteenth century, and a veritable nation might have resulted with sufficient area to be a force in Europe. Yet they never should have been joined in 1815. Both they and Europe have suffered in consequence. But it would be difficult to find any man who could have done better than Leopold I. in building the Belgic portion of the old Netherlands into a realm with an individuality of its own.

CHAPTER X

LUXEMBURG UNDER POLITICAL CHANGES

THE DIVISION OF 1839

IN 1788–1789, the people of Luxemburg had held aloof from revolutionary action and had remained unmoved by the spirit of revolt that had animated the other Belgic communities. This, however, was not the case in 1830. Her representatives were well to the fore in the political movements. They were fully alive to the diplomatic propositions that vitally affected their political existence and had pleaded their own cause vehemently and passionately. There had been a marked change in the spirit of the inhabitants.

In 1815, the Grand Duchy had emerged from the hands of its creators at Vienna with an area somewhat different from any other ever known by the name of Luxemburg, and quite unlike that of the Department of Forests. On the East, Bitbourg, with about fifty thousand inhabitants, had been detached to the advantage of Prussia—as a *pourboire*, one writer puts it—while on the West, the little duchy of Bouillon was added, to the dis-

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advantage of France. During the years 1814-1815, there might have been great anxiety about what was to be the ultimate fate of the detached Forest Canton, as its political future really hung in the balance. On Feb. 25, 1814, the Governor General of the Rhine region, recently wrested from Napoleon, assured the Luxemburgers that they were welcome to a place among the German peoples. Very probably there would not have been opposition to re-annexation to the Hapsburg family, according to the suggestion of the poet already quoted; at the same time, there was no open revolt against the disposition of the territory as devised at Vienna. As already said, there was a general vagueness about the precise interpretation to be given to the terms *in re* Luxemburg, and every reference made to the new creation in the course of the discussions of the Netherland Constitutional Commission was subject to its ultimate relations with its neighbours. William I. thought of establishing his second son as Grand Duke and of giving a separate administration to the land. But he changed his mind and ended by treating the Grand Duchy on precisely the same basis as the rest of the Belgic provinces, with less respect to its privileges than had been the custom during the preceding four centuries. He declared this intention by a law dated May 25, 1816.¹

We, William, etc., having considered that the lands of Nassau, whose possession we renounced in the nego-

tiations of the Congress of Vienna, were, by the terms of the act of April 4, 1815, to pass under the sovereignty of our well-loved son, Prince Frederic of the Netherlands, at the epoch when the Prince of Orange, his brother, had arrived at the sovereignty of the Netherlands;

That, as the eventual sovereignty of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, ceded to us in compensation for the lands of Nassau, was then to have indemnified Prince Frederic for the loss of his expectations;

And that, as we have found it desirable for the general interest of the realm, to re-unite the Grand Duchy to it and to place it under the same constitutional laws [as the rest], justice demands that the said indemnity should be charged on the property of the State whose revenues and puissance have been augmented by this reunion;

For these reasons, our Council of State agreed and with the consent of the States General, we have arranged as stated in the following clauses:

Art. I. The domains situated in the arrondissements of Breda, Niervaart, Osterhout, Steenberg, Zevenbergen, and Zwaluwe, the revenue of which, taking the rents, taxes and other dues, amount to about 190,000 florins, are ceded to Prince Frederic of the Netherlands, to be possessed by him and his legitimate descendants, from male to male by right of primogeniture without, however, being alienated or mortgaged in any way or for any reasons.

This plainly indicates William's own attitude towards Luxemburg, although it still remained as a

link between him and the German Federation. The "accession of territory" was henceforth regarded as a solid unit. He was king of all—not the particular sovereign of each province as the old Burgundian dukes had been.

When the amended Constitution was submitted for approval in 1815, there were seventy-three deputies from Luxemburg among the Belgian notables. In spite of the strong Church sentiment in the Grand Duchy, no dissentient voice was heard on this occasion. The vote of acceptance of the Fundamental Law was unanimous. Probably old timidity still prevailed. Of the seventy-three, thirty-five represented the city and district of Luxemburg. These might have felt awed by the garrison, but that was not the case in the other two election districts.²

To the fifty-five representatives of the Southern provinces to the Second Chamber in the re-organized States General, Luxemburg contributed four. This item again shows its identification with Belgic interests. At the same time, many survivals of its previous administrative affiliations remained in vogue and encumbered the facile transaction of legal business.

When the Provincial Estates were reconstituted on a new basis, the assembly contained sixty members equally distributed among nobles, certain cities and the country—each section electing twenty representatives. The nobles voted directly

each in his own right, the cities through their common councils, the country chose electors for each district. But this machinery was not effective immediately. In 1816, all the deputies were appointed outright by the king. Luxemburg was still regarded as a ward. At that epoch there were neither communal nor provincial laws in efficient action.³ All regulations had to be approved by the King Grand Duke. In course of time three important measures were passed which affected the Provincial Estates.

1. Feb. 13, 1816. The cities entitled to representation were designated—eighteen in all.

2. Feb. 24, 1819. The country was parcelled out into eight electoral districts.

3. May 30, 1825. The boundaries were defined.

Little by little, order was brought into the confused system. Small communes were combined and organized with reference to local conditions. But ten years elapsed before the irregularities were even approximately straightened out and the areas of jurisdiction re-organized.

A glance at the almanacs with their advertisements of the stage routes shows how remote was the Grand Duchy from the rest of the world that had begun to move briskly under the stimulus of Peace. In many cases the diligences ran only once a week. Nor was the regular schedule, meagre as it was, invariably adhered to. The



THE CASTLE OF BOURGLINSTER.

From Dr. Clot's *Voyage Pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Nas.*

roads, improved under Napoleon's military needs, fell into very bad condition and the trips of the diligence were often suspended. The British tourists who poured across the Channel after 1820, to spend their holiday money freely, did not reach Luxemburg, so that the region did not share in that new element that enriched the Belgian coast and accessible Continental towns.

In 1819-1820, there was a conference at Vienna for the purpose of revising some sections of the Constitution of the German Confederation. Baron Falck was despatched thither by his Grand Ducal chief to represent Luxemburg. He writes that he went gladly, because his wife had many friends in the Austrian capital, but he was curiously chary about playing a prominent part in the discussions that followed those that had already taken place, some in secret.⁴ Political disturbances in various of the German States had roused a spirit of reaction among the sovereigns, and it was proposed to frame some drastic laws embodying the principles of the Carlsbad Decrees of September, 1819. Falck declared that the "good Luxemburgers, innocent of all plots," ought not to be subjected to any stringent exceptional legislation. The old Austrian diplomat, Metternich, who had lived through so many European complications, was naturally to the fore in the discussions. He describes himself as welcome "as a Messiah." That complacent assertion was made in 1824, but

even in 1820, he had failed to impress all his colleagues equally. The veteran "is not my ideal of a practical statesman" comments the Hollander, who felt out of sympathy with the ultra-conservative spirit of the Conference. He thought that Metternich appeared to better advantage in the full meeting, "but that was, perhaps, because Gentz sat at his left, a little in the rear and whispered useful counsel in his ear."

Falck declared that it was quite unnecessary to include Luxemburg in the censorship to be made law for Germany. There was only one printer in Luxemburg,—a man named Le Mort,—and but one single periodical, *Le mémorial administratif du Gouverneur et des États*. "I had mentioned this point and the well-known trustworthiness of the Luxemburgers to many of my colleagues, especially to Prince Metternich, and probably because of bringing these facts repeatedly to the fore, I was not troubled by questions in the Plenum [full meeting] as to why the King Grand Duke had failed to publish the resolutions passed by his own representative to the Bund. Later, I was fortunate in having a word with Metternich as to why, considering the relations of Luxemburg to the German Confederation, it was not necessary to enforce this order."

Metternich, according to Falck, appears to have been in an optimistic mood. He boasted that everything human had been done to strengthen the

Confederation. It had experienced a shock, but henceforth, there was to be peace within and peace without. "What boots" writes Falck, "the best wrought tools in the hands of unskilled or faithless workmen?" The Netherlander's own conclusion is that his government's duty is to keep their own lamb, with its one foot outside the realm, free from foreign entanglements. He regretted that the Luxemburg deputy, uninstructed, had voted for the restrictive measures in the Bundestag.

There were seventeen signatories to the new act of Federation accepted on May 15, 1820. "I signed the act," writes Falck, "having taken too little part in the composition of the articles to be under suspicion of partizanship, if I should judge it favourably, and if I should venture to predict that they *might* suffice if the conduct of Federal affairs were only entrusted to *men*."

For the moment, the Hollander was sceptical as to whether there were any real efficiency in Austria or Prussia, and without human ability, he counted the Confederation as futile, no matter what the wording of the articles. In his relation to the Congress of 1820, it is evident that Falck holds aloof. He was anxious to be counted a "guest." He did not wish to have a fragment of the kingdom of the Netherlands dragged into the tangle of German complications. Stein's hope that the kingdom would finally be included in the German circle by means of the Grand Duchy had no prospect of

realization as far as the government at The Hague was concerned. Nor was there any more prospect that Prussia would yield her garrison right—that thorny point. This was a disappointment to Falck's sovereign.

It would have been a miracle if Luxemburg, treated in an anomalous fashion as it was, had prospered during the fifteen years of the union of all the Netherlands under William I. Its commerce, industry, and agriculture were hampered because of the imperfect communications with the other portions of the realm to which the Grand Duchy belonged and where modern improvements began to exist, while high protective tariffs excluded its merchants from markets close at hand. There was poverty and misery in the land, and beggary and crime became very prevalent. This condition was not confined to Luxemburg. All the Rhine region was slow to recover from the Napoleonic wars, but the Grand Duchy had certain troubles not shared by its neighbours. The Netherland debt of 1815, the pressing need of expanding trade conditions where there was chance of quick returns, prevented the King Grand Duke from taking heed of the stress in the remoter parts of the land he had undertaken to govern without intimate knowledge of the varying local conditions. The heavy taxes collected in the Grand Duchy were carried off to the general treasury and failed to return to the contributors in the shape of public expenditure for

the advantage of domestic development. A statement made to the London Conference claimed that the total annual expenses of the administration was less than the total annual receipts from Luxemburg by 1,800,000 francs—an enormous sum for a poor country of small area.⁵ The major part of the revenue contributed towards the prosperity of the State at large—the liquidation of the debt, the building-up of transportation, commerce, and foreign relations. Within Luxemburg, not a kilometre of new roads was constructed. Routes were talked of and actually planned in 1825, but the plans were not carried out. One great work—a canal from the Meuse to the Moselle—was commenced as a private enterprise of the King, at his own expense. “We are in a peculiar position on the outskirts of the kingdom, living on a mountainous terrain; remote from the great highways, without natural exits, we have almost no commerce abroad and none with the interior. We need an importation of food and merchandise, whose value far exceeds that of our exports. Having no great establishments, little of what we give to the treasury returns to us.”⁶

This assertion, made in 1821, is quite credible. The Hague was far distant from Luxemburg, reckoned by usage or by facility of communication and transit. There never had been any connection between Luxemburg and The Hague until the deputies began to go to the States General in 1816.

Nor was there, indeed, any common speech of intercourse except French. The Luxemburg dialect would not have been comprehensible in Holland any more than Dutch in the Grand Duchy, where French remained the official language even after the Congress of Vienna attached it to the Bund. When the break came in 1830, there was no doubt to which party Luxemburg's sympathy was given. King William made strenuous efforts to differentiate the people from the rest of Belgium. That single Luxemburg printer mentioned by Falck as not needing the supervision of the German Censor made ready a broadside to remind them of their duty to the ruler of the United Netherlands.

"Luxemburgers! Your ancestors bequeathed you a reputation of inestimable price—that of indestructible fidelity to a legitimate sovereign. You can save this noble heritage by spontaneously replacing yourselves under the rule of a monarch bestowed upon you by *l'Europe entière*!

"To arms, then, Citizens! Join us for the maintenance of the most just of causes.

"To arms, you old soldiers, militia and all fit for military service! You shall be assured of a franc a day.

Hollerich, Dec. 21, 1831.

The Committee of the Friends of Legal Order.

BARON DU PREL

BARON AUGUSTE DE TORNACC
SCHANUS."7

But the "Friends" found no response to their appeal. That call was to arms. Offers of a greater degree of home rule were also made. On February 19th, King William appointed the Duke of Saxe-Weimar as Governor General and issued a proclamation offering a new provincial constitution with certain features especially adapted to Luxemburg; the official languages were to be French and German, the officials natives, and the taxes applied to local needs.

Servais says that except for the few immediately terrorized by the garrison in the fortress, the rising among the Luxemburgers was spontaneous and enthusiastic. Volunteers poured out of the little villages to join the Belgian troops. They were not afraid to make public show of their sympathies. "I bear witness to this in the most positive manner, for I was eye witness to the events." This time the populace went counter to all official pressure. The single Orangist manifestation that was initiated by the garrison resulted in an encounter at Ettelbruck between the King's adherents and a body of volunteers under one Simons. As a matter of fact, hardly a blow was struck and the Belgian sympathisers were left in possession of the field. The Orangists were arrested and tried at Namur, and were acquitted by the jury. Some anxiety was felt in Brussels as to the extent of the movement but it was in reality very insignificant.⁸

In the Constitutional Congress of 1830-1833,

held at Brussels, Luxemburg was represented by sixteen deputies. When it came to the vote on the exclusion of the Nassaus, eleven were for, and—four members being absent—one grand ducal subject alone had the courage to sustain the unpopular sovereign. Probably that Luxemburger found himself in an uncomfortable minority, as he absented himself when the vote was taken on a sovereign for the new State. Thirteen Luxemburgers supported the Duke of Nemours, and only two the Duke of Leuchtenberg, in spite of the warm sympathy for Napoleon that had existed in the Department of Forests. At the second election, only one member of the deputation opposed Leopold. Thorn, the opponent of the exclusion of the Nassaus, had come over to Leopold, but one Thonus explained himself. “Considering the election of Prince Leopold . . . a formal adherence to the protocols of London against which I protest and will not cease to protest, I think I should refuse my suffrage and give it to M. le Baron Surlet de Chokier, a candidate not less worthy to reign over Belgium.”⁹

When the eighteen Articles were under consideration, ten Luxemburgers were for and five against their acceptance. While separating Belgium from Luxemburg, these articles left the final disposition of the Grand Duchy practically in abeyance and there was a loophole of chance for its being ultimately left intact,—part of the Belgium realm,

—by means of an indemnity, in spite of the Nassaus and the Germanic Confederation.¹⁰ The twenty-four articles, with the definite provision for cleaving the land in twain, were more serious. By the time that their acceptance was pending, the new Congress was established. In the Lower Chamber the articles were passed by 59 to 38; and in the Senate by 35 to 2. But that vote represented the desire for settlement rather than approval of the conditions. There is no doubt that the value of the Grand Duchy was appreciated, and that the dominant sentiment in Belgium was “We must have Luxemburg and we must not have the debt.” And above both desires was that for recognition and peace. The Belgians were repeatedly assured by the more sanguine of their statesmen that there would be no need to fight for the province, that negotiations would ultimately ensure its acquisition. Belgic statesmen argued convincingly to their auditors that William I. had himself changed the original intention of the Congress of Vienna by the provisions made for his second son’s heritage in Breda, etc., in lieu of giving him personal tenure in the Grand Duchy, and that his administrative treatment of the province had definitely attached it to the Belgian system. For the moment, the Germanic Confederation did not seem disposed to pay much attention to the subject. They proposed to send an army corps of twenty-four thousand at the expense of Luxemburg—but nothing

was done—the Diet contenting itself with saying that there must be no change without their consent and that of the agnates of the House of Nassau.

A proclamation dated January 9th was drawn up by the provisional government and scattered through Luxemburg declaring “Your cause is the cause of all Belgium; if the Luxemburgers are to suffer, all Belgium suffers. You belonged to ancient Belgium; in 1815 alien powers disposed of you without your consent; in 1830 you joined the Belgian revolution spontaneously and you reinstated yourself in your rights. Moreover the treaties of 1815 and the succeeding public acts did not separate you from the common country, and you have never ceased to be Belgian.”¹¹

This was before the election of Leopold in the early summer of 1831. After that, the provisional minister of Foreign Affairs—Lebeau—was still more vehement in his declaration that their sovereign-elect would never cede Luxemburg, that it would be a violation of the constitution he was sworn to defend. “Would he bring the loss of a province as a dowry to the alliance? Would he place himself on a volcano? You have been told that he is a prince without ambition, though a good and prudent man. He refused the throne of the Hellenes because dismemberment of the realm was threatened. . . . No, messieurs, the prince wishes Luxemburg and he will have it. He has declared that he will do all that is needful for Belgic

honour. But you say William will not cede it. Well, I believe that, after the experience of fifteen years—but his States General will not give him an obole to fight for Luxemburg. In that they will be sustained by the Germanic Confederation. A German journal said recently: 'We will not fight for Luxemburg for King William. It would be cheaper to buy it outright and give it to Belgium.'” Then the speaker expatiated on what Leopold was renouncing to take the Belgian crown and declared that he would only be satisfied if that crown offered a brilliant future, adding that a further guarantee of the protection of Belgian interests was that the Powers had a stake in having the new realm strong. “There are other things that I am not at liberty to say here. But we are in a favourable position. There are certain circumstances that decide life or death. For the moment Europe admires Belgium. If we succeed, Poland may follow our example,” etc.¹²

The formal inauguration of Leopold as King of the Belgians did not close the discussion, although Belgium found herself in a far more disadvantageous position and less able to hold her own. But the Powers were stronger. Metternich in Austria, the reactionary Czar in Russia, were vehemently opposed to popular assumptions of government and to the presumption of the lower classes in wishing to dispose of themselves, but, as said repeatedly, Polish affairs were all that they could handle.

England's interests were more closely involved and Wellington was again in power to watch the structure he had helped erect, but he preferred seeing it judiciously remodelled rather than let its fate be a *casus belli*. Prussia was alert to the danger of revolts against legitimate governments, but Count von Bernstorff was very clear in his statement to the French *chargé d'affaires*, that neither Prussia nor the other Powers wanted war, but if forced they would prosecute it vigorously.

So, in spite of the fervent assertions that Luxemburg was and must remain Belgian, the new King and his people had most reluctantly to accept the twenty-four articles that cleft the Grand Duchy in twain. But their acceptance was insufficient. The King of Holland remained obstinately recalcitrant, although in point of fact, the provisions were all in his favour. Then came the truce of 1833. The anxious Grand Duchy remained *in statu quo*. Luxemburg was not only included in, but helped to build up the liberal Belgian Constitution. France and England bound William I. over by a treaty of May 31, 1833, to keep the Scheldt open and to refrain from hostilities, and life began to take on a Peace basis. The two little kingdoms went, each its own way, and both prospered, especially Belgium. The mineral treasures of her soil gained new value from the introduction of railways, and the first road on the Continent was in Belgium. For nearly six years all was quiet in Luxemburg

and there was a growing conviction that the whole region, slipped into the Belgian unit, was to remain there in spite of Grand Duke and Nassau agnates and German Confederation, who were all supposed to have valid claims. Taxes were paid to Belgium, deputies from Luxemburg sat in the Chambers at Brussels, instead of at The Hague, sent thither by a liberal popular franchise instead of by local councils. William I. was soothed into his inaction by the hope that the artificial kingdom would be short-lived, and Luxemburg was happy in the trust that the relations with Belgium were too strong, too natural, and too completely acceptable to those concerned, to be set aside.

Both were mistaken in their anticipations. And when William was thoroughly convinced that his own hopes were not to be realized, he broke the calm of the *status quo* by a declaration that he would accept the twenty-four articles just as they stood!

"Our friend, the King of Holland has made believe to renew the negotiations, but it is all show, and will lead to nothing," wrote Palmerston.

And that was the prevailing opinion. But everyone was mistaken that time. William was entirely in earnest and bound to make his words good.

The news was a rude shock to the Luxemburgers, and Belgium was roused to the verge of militant action. They declared that the unaccepted ar-

ticles had been completely outlawed by Holland's refusal to take what was offered her in 1831. The conditions no longer existed that had forced the infant state to consent to dismemberment. Leopold's first words implied a disposition to appeal to arms, and Belgian volunteers sprang forward to back their sovereign. A Polish general, Skrzynecki, offered his services as leader. Queen Victoria, in her speech opening Parliament, declared her sympathy for her uncle and her desire to help him keep intact the kingdom which had become very dear to him, but her ministers refused to separate themselves from the other Powers. And they were unwilling to interfere.

The Provincial Council of Luxemburg took immediate action and lodged a formal protest against the mutilation of the State, much as the representatives of Alsace protested to the assembly at Bordeaux thirty years later, and equally in vain. Their address to Leopold was read in Parliament on July 14th and adopted by acclamation, and fervent appeals were made to the King on their own part. His answer to the Luxemburgers was sympathetic, but not over-confident. In May, he had assured the deputies at Brussels in both Chambers that he would use all his influence to the advantage of the intact realm. Perseverance and courage were the keynotes of his speech. In July, his desires were no less keen, but there was a strain of doubt in the phrases, doubt whether he

could carry his purpose to completion. He had sent to England to offer *les plus grands sacrifices pécuniaires* to settle the question amicably. M. van de Weyer, Belgian Minister in London, proposed that the Confederation should still be allowed to keep a garrison at Luxemburg if it were ceded to Belgium. But every effort revealed the difficulties and Leopold showed he was beginning to lose heart when he tells the anxious people; "If Belgium had to do with Holland alone, undoubtedly an arrangement could be made; but it is necessary to take the Powers of the North into consideration. The relations with the Germanic Confederation complicate the situation. Luxemburg is subject to a double influence; on one side, there are the great Powers with which Belgium is bound by treaties; on the other, there is the Confederation, a body which is not tangible in any way and which can act outside the sphere of the great Powers."³

"It cannot be denied that this land has to contend with trans-Rhine passions; it is its interest not to do anything to irritate them. During the seven years that I have been in Belgium, I have proved how deep is my interest in the people of Luxemburg. My wish to preserve all cannot be doubted. Unfortunately the disasters of 1831 exercised an adverse influence on the course of the negotiations. It is difficult to destroy, even a long time after the events, the disastrous effects of what

happened. For the rest the members of the deputation must believe that nothing shall be omitted which is possible under the circumstances and that the cause of Luxemburg shall be defended with entire devotion."

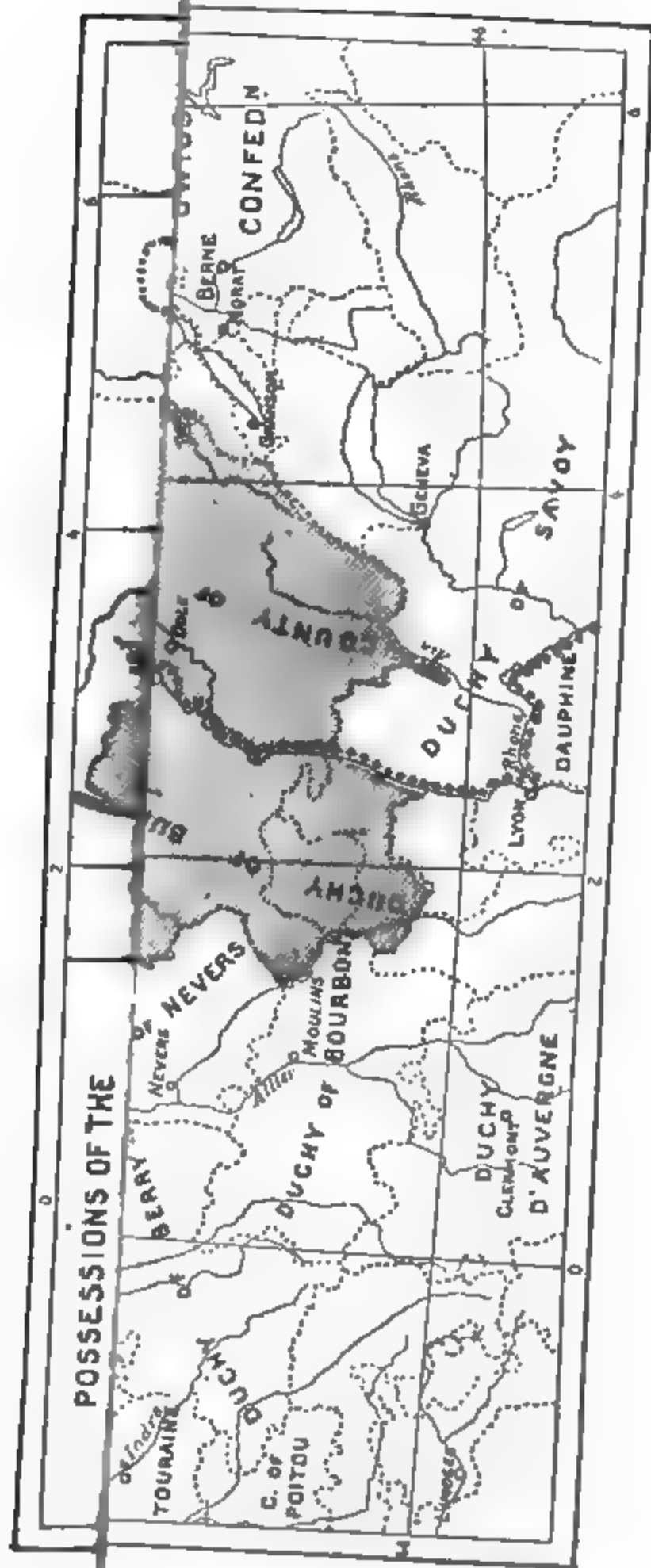
The deputies at Brussels did not let the matter rest. Another address was sent to King Leopold on November 17, 1838.¹⁴

"Our rights, Sire, are such as every nation ought to claim—its unity, its integrity of territory; they are based upon that ancient nationality reconquered by the Belgians in 1830.

"Between us and our compatriots of Luxemburg time has consolidated such close bonds that they cannot be broken without ignoring what is most sacred in the law of nations.

"But the words of Your Majesty have given us cause to believe that the plan of imposing upon us a debt that we have not contracted, of mutilating our province and of breaking the political union with their inhabitants, was not abandoned. However, the errors committed in the partition of the debts of the realm of the Netherlands are to-day manifest; and an experience of eight years has proven that the ancient and intimate relations of Luxemburg with the other Belgian provinces tended towards the happiness of all without troubling the peace of any country in Europe.

"For four centuries Luxemburg has been attached to Belgium. The Belgian revolution did



not operate its union with the other provinces; it simply maintained it. This province, although qualified as Grand Duchy, has never been governed as a German state. The organic acts of the government of the Netherlands built up the nine Southern provinces in conformity with their ancient existence without making the slightest distinction for Luxemburg. . . .

“Belgium has never been actuated by any spirit of invasion; today it only desires to preserve her fellow-citizens who are linked with her destinies by a long common past. . . . We are ready to acquiesce in arrangements suitable for our honour and our present condition. But if the use of force attempts to deprive us of fellow-citizens who do not wish to cease to be so . . . we will not shrink before any sacrifice for defence.”

During the winter of 1838–1839, the matter was hotly debated. The three Luxemburg deputies refused to believe that the injustice was to be done to their land. On March 12, 1839, M. Metz, deputy from Grevenmacher, too ill to walk, had himself carried into the Chamber in order to say in the name of his unfortunate country that “it does not recognize the right of Conference, of King, of Government or of the Chambers to dispose of it. I protest solemnly against the sacrilege which tears from the country of their choice nearly four hundred thousand citizens and which attaches eternal opprobrium to Belgium.”¹⁵

M. de Puydt was equally reproachful. "When your territory was invaded, your capital menaced, at the call of the King, at the call of the weeping country, all Luxemburg hastened towards the Meuse to aid you."

M. Berger, from the capital itself, spoke at greater length, concluding with: "Gentlemen, by the fatal treaty of separation Luxemburg is ravished of its independence, of its nationality, its territorial wealth is destroyed, its industries ruined; after that the single weal that remains to its patriotism and attachment for Belgium, ungrateful though she be,—must not be misunderstood.

"No, Gentlemen, it is enough that the Luxemburgers should be relinquished by their brothers. They will not anticipate the sacrifice. To misunderstand their sentiments is to calumniate them, it is to add insult to injury. I protest with all the force of my soul against the odious treaty which is desired to be imposed on us."

One Luxemburger alone dared to support the treaty, and it was a Luxemburger who had proved his patriotism. M. Nothomb, who had been identified with Belgian affairs ever since his twenty-third year, dared to take the unpopular side and to declare that it was useless to raise further opposition in the face of all Europe, of the Confederation with Prussia behind it, of England and France who wanted peace. "I know that I expose myself to be misunderstood and there is something painful

in being misunderstood by those in the midst of whom one was born, in the midst of whom one has suffered. But *Patria* is not for me the village where I was brought up; it is the moral being. It is Belgium.

“Belgium is not dishonoured. She has done all that she could. She has done all that she ought. As a Belgian, I do not feel humiliated nor dishonoured; as a Luxemburger, I deplore more than any one the lot of a province sacrificed to the implacable exigencies of European policy. Resume the course of your prosperity momentarily interrupted, but never forget that those whom you have been temporarily forced to abandon are your old time associates and that Belgium remains the common country.”

Bitter feeling persisted and passions ran high. One deputy,¹⁶ M. Duquesne, supported Nothomb as follows:

“I begin by declaring that I am among those who believe that international engagements have a value, that treaties are not mere scraps (*que les traités ne sont pas de simples chiffons*). I am among those who believe, and I have History as a guaranty, that Right rather than Force rules the affairs of this world—that in the end there is profit as well as honour in fulfilling obligations no matter how hard. And for that reason, I believe that in the first diplomatic act taken by us as an independent people, we ought to avoid the charge of breaking a given oath.”

This was a bold stand in the face of the more vehement accusation that the young Belgian nation was committing suicide, and that "one people is not bound to another by words written on parchment but by deeds. Now those which prove the intimate alliance both ancient and modern of Luxemburg with Belgium, are as clear as the light of the sun. . . . To deny them, is to deny evidence. Besides, to take no account of eight years of the peaceful existence in which the inhabitants of this province have lived and to bring trouble in the name of Germany is to play a part morally dangerous for those who dare to do so; for Germans can not be flattered by the idea that they are the patrimony, the possession in fee of princely families without the slightest consideration to their own interests—to protect the least of those interests founded on centuries of life. This is to reduce the human race to the condition of a lump of soil or to a flock of sheep."

But Belgium was in an *impasse*. Leopold was not strong enough to undertake a war. It would be the ruin of the work of nine years. In 1839, as in 1831, Europe wanted peace and Europe intended to have it. In the Lower Chamber the vote as finally taken was 58 to 42; in the Senate, 31 to 14 in favour of accepting the terms.

The deputies and officials who supported the articles laid themselves open to bitter criticism. They had voted, it was said, in order to keep their

portfolios and were warned that they would be disappointed. They would not be retained in the face of opposition. In reply to a charge that he had made a false move and would suffer from espousing so unpopular a measure, Nothomb reiterated passionately, that he knew he and his friends would be misunderstood. They were moved by a zeal to close the Revolution of 1831 and they were ready to take the consequences.

To Belgium, there was some compensation in addition to being recognized by Holland as a Nation, for Article III declared that "the union which has existed between Holland and Belgium, in virtue of the Treaty of Vienna of the 31st of May, 1815, is acknowledged by his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, to be dissolved." Her financial obligations were reduced from 8,400,000 florins annual payment to 5,000,000 with a quittance of arrears up to January 1, 1839. All inhabitants who wished to stay under the Belgian ægis were allowed to do so with provisions for property, etc. Moreover naturalization between Luxemburg and Belgium was made easy and has remained so.

The boundary line was marked out so as to follow, as far as possible, the linguistic area. Arlon became the capital of the portion of Luxemburg that fell to Belgium taking with it the greater portion of the Forest of the Ardennes, with all the lovely country about St. Hubert and La Roche,

according to the detailed specifications of the treaty that was signed on April 19. 1839."

Seventeen hundred and twenty-five square miles 158,887 inhabitants were "ceded" to Belgium or "saved" to that land, according to the way of looking at it. One hundred and ninety-nine square miles and about 200,000 inhabitants remained Grand Ducal.

His Majesty the King, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, was to receive for the cession an indemnity in the province of Limburg. The agnates of the House of Nassau received an indemnity of 750,000 florins and were promised the same regulations respecting the inheritance that had been adopted in the family compact of 1783, and a good deal of discussion passed concerning those rights and those of the German Confederation in the abbreviated Duchy. Learned men droned out long briefs on the different kinds of tenure but it was all finally settled, though not very much to the satisfaction of any one.

The portion of Limburg given to Holland in lieu of lost Luxemburg was represented in the Germanic Federation by the same deputy as the Grand Duchy.

There is no doubt about the sorrow felt by the Grand Ducals. They hardly knew William I., and they cared nothing for the German Confederation. Luxemburg as a unit had had a soul of its own. Its integrity had been attacked from without but

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within there remained an individuality that was not injured by the bi-lingual speech. After 1839, there were Belgian Luxemburgers in Arlon as there had been French Luxemburgers in Thionville and Prussian Luxemburgers in Bitbourg, besides the Grand Ducals in the diminished Grand Duchy. But the ancient tie between all of them was never forgotten.

CHAPTER XI

THE DESIGNS OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

1867

THE division between the Belgian province and the new Grand Duchy was not effected immediately, even though King William claimed his portion promptly on June 11, 1839. Luxemburg deputies continued to sit in the Belgian parliament until 1841, and various anomalous conditions prevailed for a long time. The existing laws, except those hostile to Holland, were declared valid until further notice, but efforts were made to eradicate Belgian features and to prepare the way for bureaucratic methods,—efforts that were vigorously opposed by officials and people alike who resented “Germanization” and were determined to resist it.’

In 1840, William I. resigned his sovereignty of Holland, as his kingdom is termed in English, and was succeeded by his son as William II., who was, according to Treitschke, restless, fantastic, excitable, changeable as the weather, busied with all sorts of plans, giving ear to all sorts of schemes.

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His first important act in regard to Luxemburg was to permit it to be included in the German Customs Union, which was being nursed into a powerful organization. Treitschke declares that no financial advantage could accrue to Prussia from the admission of the new member. It was only a German sense of duty (*nur das deutsche Pflichtgefühl*) that led to the proposal designed to prevent any resumption of Belgo-Luxemburg trade relations.² The land was, patently, too small to sustain a system of its own at the exposed frontiers. Unless it could have free trade with each of its three neighbours, it had to be attached to one. William II. was, naturally, afraid of France as well as of Belgium. Prussia was, thus, the only associate that he could approve. Moreover, the King of Prussia was not only his cousin but his intimate friend, and he was ready enough to further the proposition made in 1841. Two years elapsed before the two sovereigns could carry out the scheme, which failed to appeal to the grand ducal people or officials. Petition followed petition imploring the King Grand Duke to refrain from introducing a sphere of Prussian influence into the land. At the end the Luxemburgers had to submit to the inevitable, and the admission of Luxemburg into the Zollverein was concluded on February 8, 1843. Owing to the small financial interests involved, the new member was not given a full voice in the councils of the Union. On important

measures Prussia was spokesman in its behalf. In spite of the genuine distaste to the Union, commercial interests were, undoubtedly, furthered by the new connection. Some opening in the cordon of restrictions was very necessary, for the situation had bristled with difficulties. With the Walloon portion gone there was a reduced internal revenue to support the government whose expenses were, by no means, cut in half and much readjustment was necessary. For a time, no large policies were practicable. All that could be done was to look after local necessities. Only very gradually did a definite political existence take shape. The people had to look abroad for more than commerce, and Belgium supplied most of the education for those who refused to change allegiance, but who retained their preferences.

In 1848, when all Europe was in a ferment, a new constitution was given to the Grand Duchy and hailed as a great advance upon the articles first provided under the new régime. It was modelled on the Belgian pattern, but was even more liberal, as there was a representative in the single Chamber for every three thousand inhabitants, and all men paying a ten franc tax were enfranchised.

In 1850, Prince Henry, the King's brother was appointed governor. His permanent residence in the capital with a little court gave an appearance of autonomy such as had not obtained in Luxem-

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burg for many long years. Under him, the first railroad was opened in 1859—a wonderful event for the backward country thus, at last, brought into communication with the outer world. It inspired the composition of a dialect poem called *De Feierwon*, which was elevated to the dignity of a national hymn for Luxemburg. The refrain, *Mir welle bleiwe wat mer sin*, flung out to the winds across all the frontiers, was designed to declare to France, Belgium, and Prussia that the inhabitants were glad to have strangers come from all quarters, but that they wished “to remain what they were.” Yet, as it chanced, the new means of transportation was destined to bring a fresh international element into the Grand Duchy. The Luxemburg company did not make a success of their enterprise. The task was too heavy for their resources. The service became terribly unsatisfactory and irregular, and finally the system was practically taken over by the French *Compagnie de l'Est*. Thus in 1866 grand ducal affairs were controlled as follows: The sovereign Grand Duke was at The Hague, commercial interests were involved with those of Germany, transportation facilities with those of France, while Prince Henry of the Netherlands administered the remainder of public affairs at Luxemburg, although the fortress was held by a Prussian garrison, as deputed guardian for the Germanic Confederation in whose Diet, Luxemburg was represented. Moreover, the lien with

Germany was, perhaps, intensified by the influence of Prince Henry's wife, Amalie of Weimar, and not broken at her death, as the widower married a princess of Prussia. Still the court language was French, and the standard of culture was set at Paris, never at Berlin, and Brussels never lost the sympathy of the people.

Then there came a time when the little land was the very storm centre of Europe. It was drawn, in spite of itself, into European complications and the outlook was very doubtful as to whether the people were not to be forced to accept another radical change in their political life, for the sake of interests in which they had no concern.

After 1815, in addition to the King of the Netherlands in behalf of Luxemburg the German Confederation comprised two other non-Teutonic princes—the King of England for Hanover, and the King of Denmark for Schleswig.

Their relations to these particular territories were all personal, of course, and thus subject to change. In 1837, Victoria's accession broke the link with England. Her uncle became sovereign in Hanover, where the Salic law excluded a female. In 1863, Frederick VII. of Denmark died, and his successor also was, from other grounds, ineligible to the German portion of his heritage—the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The situation had been foreseen and agreements had been duly

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signed and sealed among the European Powers to avoid a disputed succession, but no pledge seemed exactly to fit the actual circumstances as they existed when the death of the incumbent came; at least so it seemed to the various claimants. Austria and Prussia watched proceedings and declared that the new king in Denmark did not adhere to his obligations, and accordingly their agreements were invalidated. The details of all the complications cannot even be touched upon, so intricate were they, and Luxemburg was only affected by the result—the union of the two great German Powers to force Christian IX. of Denmark to obedience. Prussia and Austria were, naturally, victors, being too strong for a small realm to oppose successfully. The little Duchy of Lauenburg was ceded to Prussia outright, and a sum of money secured for Austria, while the two large duchies were left to the joint protection of the two Powers pending a final settlement of the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, a favoured claimant. Prussia became guardian of Schleswig and Austria of Holstein.

Then these allies ceased to pull well together. In 1866, Austria ordered a convention of the Estates of Holstein with the intention of determining the wishes of the people of the Duchy. Prussia objected strenuously and proceeded to march troops into Holstein to enforce her will, and was in military occupation of the territory when, four

days later, Austria moved in the Diet at Frankfort the mobilization of the armies of the Confederation to punish Prussia by *federal execution* for an illegal act;—that is, it was proposed to use federal forces as an international police to bring a recalcitrant member to terms. On June 12th, Count Karoly informed Bismarck at Berlin, that the violent occupation of Holstein by Prussian troops, in violation of treaties forced the Emperor of Austria to break diplomatic relations with Prussia. On the 14th, the vote was taken in the Diet and the motion was carried by a large majority.

During the eighteen troublous months that preceded this decisive vote, M. de Scherff, the deputy for Luxemburg and Limburg abstained from taking active part in discussions or in action. He simply tried to maintain good relations with his colleagues in the hope that a conference would settle matters without resort to arms. But in this last crisis, he voted with the minority. Luxemburg never joined either group of belligerents. Yet, technically, she remained in the old Bund, because de Scherff continued to sit in the Diet after June 14th, in spite of Prussia's declaration that there was no longer any such body. Prussia did not like an attitude of neutrality. According to her point of view the leaders and the States should decide which they would follow. On June 15th, Bismarck invited Saxony, Hanover, Nassau, and Hesse to form a new alliance with Prussia.

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They refused and sided with Austria. Prussia sent troops into their territories and won easy and decisive victories, after the one check at Langensalza, a battle dear to Hanover's pride. Meanwhile, the flower of the army marched into Austrian domains. The first success was at Nachod on June 29th,—so rapid had been the mobilization of Prussia's well-drilled forces,—and was due to the Crown Prince Frederick, who arrived just in time to turn the fortunes of the day much as Blücher had done at Waterloo. In his *Diary*,³ Frederick records the victory, but his thoughts are with an infant son lately dead, and he adds: "No victory compensates for the loss of a child. . . . It is a gruesome thing to ride over a battlefield. . . . War is an appalling thing and the man who brings it about with a stroke of his pen at the 'green table,' little knows what he is conjuring with."

Could a man, apparently as sane and sound as this Frederick, really have believed that the battle in which he had played his part was not simply caused by Bismarck's mad zeal to aggrandize Prussia? Could he have thought it justified the means used to egg Austria to the breaking point? When it came to 1870, that same Frederick wrote: "I have a presentiment that this war must bring a pause in battles and in this shedding of blood." He quotes Napoleon III. as saying at that time, that it was the more horrible *quand on n'a pas voulu la guerre*. Strange psychology of these

army leaders and strange persistence of phrases used!

A few days after the first clash came the crowning battle at Königgrätz or Sadowa (July 3rd), and Austria agreed to capitulate to her northern rival. A bare seven weeks had sufficed for Prussia to show the advantage of preparedness. And for her it was, indeed, a brilliant campaign. As a result, Austria agreed, by the terms of the Treaty of Prague, August 23, 1866, to allow Prussia to annex both the duchies, besides Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, and Frankfort, thus adding forty-one and one half millions to her population and extending her area by four thousand square miles. Moreover, Austria consented to withdraw from the Confederation and from any alliance with the German states. Henceforth she was to be simply Austria with her agglomerated Slavic states. The Hapsburgs were pushed permanently out of Germany, the Germany with which for four centuries they had been identified. Prussia was ready for a strong union, now that the presidential seat was vacant. Bismarck had considered Germany too narrow to contain both Prussia and Austria at one and the same time. Prussia wanted her place in the sun and Austria was told to look to the East and strengthen herself there.

Bismarck's next step was to form the North German Confederation. The South German states were apparently left to work out their own

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salvation, but there were various undercurrents, and it was just those which threatened the fate of Luxemburg. It must be noted that Prussia's rapid strides forward were probably beyond what even Bismarck had anticipated. On June 14, 1866, Austria had broken diplomatic relations; on February 24, 1867, the first assembly of a Diet of the North German Confederation met at Berlin to rearrange matters—and its opening was a splendid function. It was just 450 years since the Hohenzollern from Nuremberg, Frederick the Burggrave, had bought the electorate of Brandenburg. Thence as a foothold in Northern Europe the Hohenzollerns had pushed out tendrils over Bo-Russia—Prussia,—to the eastward, then south and west gaining, gaining, gaining, in prestige and in territory. And on the north, Austria had yielded her something almost as valuable as the presidency in Germany—Kiel, a seaport that could be made to look out over the world.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was not attached to the North German Confederation nor affiliated with the South German states. The former had taken on a solid united Teutonic aspect. No member of it henceforth had any interests outside of Germany. Perhaps that was a reason why Bismarck was willing to let the King of Holland withdraw Luxemburg. Perhaps he had another reason and thought it convenient to use the semi-detached Grand Duchy to pay off one

of his obligations without expense to Prussia. For Bismarck had taken the greatest pains to ensure success by wooing the friendship of his neighbours who might have interfered inconveniently. Italy, first a secret and then an open ally, promised to strike one blow for Prussia in the hope of wresting Venetia from Austria. The hope was realized. Venice entered the kingdom to the intense joy of all Italians, and to the patronizing satisfaction of Louis Napoleon, to whom Italy still felt that submissive confidence was owed and without whose permission no decisive step was taken. For that reason, Louis Napoleon considered that Prussia was under obligations to him for Italy's aid in addition to owing him recognition for his own services. And Prussia seemed to agree with him. He had been placated in advance by stringed words which Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, received from Bismarck at their face value, not seeing how easily they could be drawn back before his very eyes when Napoleon's good offices were no longer needed. "*Ce n'est pas un homme sérieux,*" he said after one of Bismarck's visits to Paris. The Emperor had underestimated Bismarck. It must be remembered that before 1866, that statesman had, by no means, won public confidence, even in Prussia. The Prussian Diet was in constant opposition to the measures approved by the king and his minister. Then Napoleon was confident

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that he had astutely protected himself in case of Prussia's defeat by leaving a way open to a compact with Vienna. He had anticipated playing a title rôle in the settlement no matter what was the outcome. As a beneficent mediator he might ask favours for Italy and Prussia, or, less probably, for Austria. When Prussia emerged triumphant from the conflict, he was unpleasantly surprised, but he stepped to the fore promptly. He flattered himself that his intercession saved Saxony from Hanover's fate. There he took on a Napoleonic tone, "He could not see the dynasty that had been faithful to the great Napoleon lose its throne." That Prussia acquiesced, was, he imagined, surely due to him. Moreover, he had set his foot down against a triumphal entry of Prussian troops into Vienna. Again his voice had been properly listened to. Of these points, proving his own influence, Napoleon III. had need to make the most, for he was destined to be sadly disillusioned as to what was coming to him for his "permission" to Prussia to go her way unrestrained. The speediness of the end, to the latter's striking advantage, upset his calculations a bit, but he did not immediately lose hopes of gleaning a sheaf for France as the chief harvester swept the field. Before the treaty was signed, came the first shock. The French Ambassador, Benedetti, was at Nikolsburg when the preliminaries were discussed, ready to have his say as to

what France would "permit." Bismarck talked to him pleasantly and with apparent openness, pending his parleys with the Austrians, but contrived to get the articles drafted, approved, and signed without communicating the terms to Napoleon's representative for his mediating sanction, until he informed him that the document was a *fait accompli*—three days old!

That was on July 26th. The self-confident "mediator" thus found himself mulcted of his mediatorial perquisites. But he continued to cherish the conviction that he was too important to be permanently ignored and that Bismarck would fear his coalition with the South German states if France were not properly compensated for the territorial acquisitions of Prussia, acquisitions which would have been impossible had not Louis Napoleon kept his hands off. He knew, of course, when the Treaty of Prague confirmed the draft of July, but he failed to divine, that, at the moment of its being signed, his hope of useful friendship with the South German states was definitely blighted by a secret agreement between their princes and the unified confederation of the north,—an agreement of military co-operation in case of need that was the first step towards the later solidification of Germany. The chance of those disaffected princes turning for sympathy to a French imperial leader was quashed by this confidential inter-Teutonic compact signed on August 22nd—the day before

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the conclusion of the public Austro-Prussian treaty! The news was not published until March 19, 1867. So that, while Louis Napoleon and the Prince of Augustenburg were alike in being left out in the cold, the former did not, until months later, realize where he stood. Nor was deception his alone. Austria, too, had been deceived. When the secret was at last disclosed, in the following spring, Count von Beust rated the compact between Prussia and the South German states as "a masterpiece of treachery," adding that broken treaties were no novelty in history, but that it was reserved for the genius of Bismarck to break one in anticipation. The treaties practically reduced the smaller states to a permanent condition of dependence on Prussia, whereas in the treaty with Austria, it had been expressly stipulated that they should have an independent international existence! The Austrian premier may be pardoned for declaring that this was the *ne plus ultra* of Macchiavellism.⁴

It may be mentioned that Bismarck's admirers, while telling the same facts, entirely deny the Austrian's inference of treachery. They hold that the South German states were left by the treaty of Prague in full possession of their sovereignty and free to form their own connections without consulting any one.⁵

In spite of what he knew, and was daily learning, about Prussia's methods under the stimulus of

success, the "mediator" continued his quest for his well-earned reward. And this was where Luxemburg was brought to the footlights, and made to play a part with very few lines, while the other actors delivered long speeches.

It will be remembered that Prussia's right of garrison in the fortress dated from the time of the Congress of Vienna and was stipulated in four agreements subsequent to the final act—in 1815, 1816, 1817, and 1820. Prussia was the guardian of that stronghold in behalf of the German Confederation to which the Grand Duchy was arbitrarily attached. With the dissolution of the *Deutsches Bund*, it was obvious that Prussia had nothing more to represent. At least, that was the way Louis Napoleon looked at it. Luxemburg was not in the new Bund, and such being the case, why should Prussian troops be allowed to nestle securely so near to the French frontier? He wished for their withdrawal, but, more than that, he wished for Luxemburg itself. The demand was the last remnant of much more ambitious designs of expansion eastward. His dream dated from the moment when he felt himself fairly secure upon his uncle's throne. The cession of Savoy and Nice had been enormously satisfactory for France. That his desires turned toward the Rhine and the frontiers of 1814 was natural enough, and Bismarck's need to work unchecked was one reason why the Emperor of the French



PART OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF LUXEMBURG.

From De Cloet's Voyage Pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas.



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was allowed to cherish the hope that his vision might be realized by a peaceful exchange of values.

Long before the Schleswig-Holstein embroglio enabled Prussia to launch out her own annexation policy boldly, Bismarck was inclined "to display a little inexpensive friendship toward Louis Napoleon." He was quite willing to count it a "fact of political moment were he (Napoleon III.) to aspire to the honour of calling upon our most gracious Sovereign before calling on any other reigning personage." These phrases were written by Bismarck's own hand in 1856. And for ten years he pursued a conciliatory policy.⁶ He did not know how far he could bring Prussia on the path he had projected, and while he was feeling his way from one point to another, he flattered the Emperor. He had not even decidedly refused the frontier of 1814, little as he dreamed of conceding it, while listening to the overtures of the French envoy at Berlin. After the war, Benedetti was honoured with the ribbon of the Black Eagle, but his position was by no means as agreeable as it had been when Prussia was still doubtful. Bismarck used the foils very adroitly, contrived to keep Benedetti from meeting the King, and managed to make all their interviews informal, where no word was binding. What actually passed between the two men became a question of veracity on their respective parts. There is in existence a draft

embodying Louis Napoleon's later demands. It is as follows⁷:

DRAFT OF BENEDETTI'S PROPOSITIONS TO BISMARCK

I. His Majesty the Emperor of the French acquiesces in and recognizes the gains made by Prussia in the course of the last war waged by her against Austria and that Power's allies.

II. His Majesty the King of Prussia engages to facilitate the acquisition of Luxemburg by France; and for this purpose His Majesty will enter into negotiations with His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, with a view of inducing him to cede his sovereign rights over the Duchy to the Emperor of the French, on the terms of such compensation as shall be judged adequate or otherwise. The Emperor of the French, on his side, engages to assume whatever pecuniary charges this arrangement may involve.

III. His Majesty the Emperor of the French shall raise no opposition to a Federal Union of the Confederation of North Germany with the States of South Germany, except Austria; and this Federal Union may be based on one common Parliament, due reservation, however, being made to the sovereignty of the said States.

IV. His Majesty the King of Prussia, on his side, in case His Majesty the Emperor of the French should be led by circumstances to cause his troops to enter Belgium or to conquer it, shall grant armed aid to France and shall support her with all his forces, military and naval, in the face of and against every Power which should, in this eventuality, declare war.

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The fifth and last article simply specified a closer alliance, defensive and offensive.

The draft was endorsed "*von Benedetti*" and laid away in Bismarck's desk for future reference. Benedetti's explanation is that Bismarck practically dictated these articles, while he wrote down the phrases. "*Il était son œuvre, mais il était écrit de ma main.*"⁸

On July 25, 1870, the articles were given to the newspapers by Bismarck, who alleged that the proposition was made in 1867, giving the lie to Benedetti's assertion that they belonged to 1866 *before* the Luxemburg matter had been settled. There is every reason to believe that the Frenchman spoke the truth. His version tallies with other events.

By the late autumn of 1866, Louis Napoleon was fully convinced that the left bank of the Rhine was not to be his. Thenceforth he confined his demands to the Grand Duchy. The acquisition of that seemed practicable,—if Prussia's garrison rights were automatically annulled by the expiration of the old Bund, and if the King Grand Duke, for reasons of his own, were willing to release it. The events of the last few years had made William III. very nervous about his own kingdom. Sybel says that the most exaggerated ideas of Prussia's inordinate ambition and covetousness were entertained. Assuredly *Hodie tibi, cras mihi* was no very remarkable thought on Holland's part

as she looked at Schleswig-Holstein and Hanover and realized that Rotterdam and Amsterdam had equal value with Kiel. And in regard to his Grand Duchy William feared his ability to protect a territory not contiguous to his own frontier in the face of the predatory changes that were taking place around him. The Emperor did not think that the King Grand Duke could act without Prussia's consent and, naturally, he applied first to Berlin. Here was an excellent chance for Bismarck to use "inexpensive friendship." Bismarck's reply to the suggestion was that the King Grand Duke had not asked for the withdrawal of the garrison, that he was at perfect liberty to do what he wished with his own, and that Prussia could neither give nor refuse permission. This statement was not only made once but several times, always unofficially. Through the winter of 1866-1867, the matter was kept alive between Paris, Berlin, and The Hague, but in private channels. On March 19th, the secret treaties between Prussia and several South German states were published in the official *Gazette*. Louis Napoleon saw himself deprived of the chance of reaping advantage from a divided Germany. Prussia had no more reason to dread French influence in the south. This was an added spur to the negotiations for Luxemburg.

In the Reichstag, on the day before the publication of the treaties, after someone had referred to

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Holland's future relations with Germany, Bismarck said⁹ that, as a matter of fact, that sovereign, "in his capacity of Grand Duke of Luxemburg was legally at war with us in the summer of 1866, not having separated himself from the majority of the then Diet. His Dutch Majesty, however, not wishing to enforce the martial relations in which he found himself involved with us, we readily agreed that there should be no coming to blows. Thus, though we were belligerents, we never exchanged a shot or mobilized a regiment against each other. In consequence it had not been thought necessary to conclude a peace."

He then differentiates Limburg, which he rates as really Dutch, from Luxemburg, and proceeds: "Luxemburg never having been mentioned in our mutual communications, its fate remains more undecided. It is plain that we have not asked that either Limburg or Luxemburg should be preserved for Germany, nor have we resigned the right of claiming them. We have no interest in adding to the inflammable matter which might threaten Europe with conflagration. We have never threatened Holland nor exposed the Dutch Government to petty molestation as some journals have asserted."

Thus determinedly did the Prussian pilot sweep Luxemburg out of his course as a negligible quantity in whose actions he had no concern. He persistently discouraged any suggestion that Holland should discuss it *officially*.

Meanwhile, in the Grand Duchy, French influence, exerted quietly in February, was more open in March, being stimulated by Bismarck's attitude. French of all types appeared. Railroad men and employees, bankers, officers, and mere tourists, long before the weather was tempting for enjoyment of the scenery! Prince Henry, Lieutenant-Governor of the Grand Duchy, not sure what his brother was to do in The Hague, did not know how to treat this invasion and sent to Paris to ask an explanation.¹⁰

Then came a more official emissary charged with sounding public opinion, M. Jacqueminot. King William III. summoned Tornaco, President of the Luxemburg government to The Hague, to ask explanation of the Frenchman's presence, and the ministers of France and Holland, respectively at Paris and The Hague, were called to council. The report of the sentiments of M. Moustier, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, that the Emperor was determined to have the Prussian garrison removed or declare war, excited the King Grand Duke. For more than a week there was hot debate. Baudin, French envoy at The Hague, telegraphed to Paris on March 19th, that the King was coming around, and that he had proposed a treaty—to be secret until the sentiments of the population had been officially ascertained—specifying the indemnity and conditions. Baudin anticipated acceptance of the Emperor's terms.

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The King Grand Duke was in an uncomfortable dilemma. He was nervous about concluding the matter without informing Prussia, and yet Bismarck's expressed opinions deterred him from taking that action. France had begun to assume a menacing tone. What could he do in war, and if Prussia brought her aid against France, what would her price be, in spite of Bismarck's late declaration that it was silly to think she had designs on Holland? The exact course of the negotiations is a trifle obscure.

Two such authorities as the Luxemburger Servais and the French Rothan relate the events somewhat differently and they were both participants in the negotiations. But it is certain that these progressed to the fair satisfaction of France and that other governments, too, began to take notice. In Paris, Thiers brought up the question, and in Berlin, Bismarck's speech of March 18th, has already been given. On March 22nd, William III. decided to tell Prussia his intentions and so informed the French minister. Then Van Zuylen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, sent a despatch to the Dutch minister at Berlin on the subject, bidding him report it to Bismarck. Again the unofficial reply was vaguely definite. Prussia had nothing to say,—“was not sure what would be the opinion of the signatories of the treaties of Vienna and of 1839,” etc. By this action, William III. had himself opened communication with Prussia,

and Bismarck made the most of it. But the King Grand Duke was at first led to think that everything was smooth. Bismarck had said that he had no desire to excite the susceptibilities of the Netherlands by urging Luxemburg to enter the North German Confederation,—surely that was reassuring and implied that the King of Holland was free. On March 26th, accordingly he despatched the Prince of Orange to Paris with a letter to Louis Napoleon, consenting to the bargain—the indemnity being put at “four or five million francs.”¹¹ The letter was received on the 28th, and the end appeared to be in plain view.

Then, if one may trust the author of *Die Psychologie von Bismarck*, the Prussian minister deliberately engineered the *mise en scène*. His preparations were made carefully and in detail. A well-trained chorus had learned a chant that was to move the public to active co-operation and their voices echoed persistently through the inspired press. During March, the Cologne *Zeitung* and other obedient journals teemed with patriotic allusions to an all-German fatherland, while hinting at illegal attacks on its integrity. The import of all this was disregarded at Paris, however. After the receipt of the King Grand Duke’s letter on March 28th, the cession was regarded as certain. The articles were just about to be signed at The Hague on March 31st, when Van Zuylen suddenly decided that the signature was not within his

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province, but was the duty of Tornaco, President of the Government of Luxemburg. Tornaco was summoned from Luxemburg and the signatories awaited his arrival at The Hague.

On April 1st, Benedetti received a telegram in Berlin stating that the matter would be a closed incident before the sun set. It was Bismarck's birthday. The French ambassador called on him with a twofold purpose—to offer his congratulations and to inform him of the transfer of Luxemburg. Bismarck received the first message graciously, and waived the second, as he was due at the Reichstag. He had been informed that Herr von Bennigsen, a Hanoverian who had long espoused the scheme of a united Germany, was to interpellate him on this very subject. And very impassioned was the speech of interrogation, through every line of which the Prussian eagle flapped its wings, while united Germany glowed with sentiment outraged at the thought of a German land, the cradle of German emperors, a land of Teutonic speech and custom, being delivered over to France. But Bismarck had not needed to hurry in order to hear Bennigsen. The orator himself told von Sybel that this speech was prepared at Bismarck's initiative and in consultation with him.¹² Bismarck, therefore, had had ample time to perfect his part in the dialogue and his lines were a masterpiece.

He began by saying that he was quite willing

to satisfy natural curiosity on the subject expressed by "the preceding speaker." It was true that his Dutch Majesty's Government, displeased with Prussian successes, advised their sovereign not to join the Bund as not conducive to their interests, the people of Luxemburg fearing the burden of Federal institutions. A note had, moreover, been addressed by the Dutch to the government asserting that Prussia had no further right of garrison. Prussia had to ask herself whether it were worth while to force the entry of Luxemburg, a German country, and a member of the Zollverein, into the new Confederation. Geographically it was the proper thing, but as he wished to spare the susceptibilities of his neighbours it seemed wiser to let them alone. In regard to the cession to France, all he was at liberty to say was "his Majesty's government has no reason to suppose that a settlement has already been effected; nor do we know whether a settlement is imminent. Indeed all that has come to my cognisance is that, a few days ago, the King of the Netherlands orally inquired of the Prussian envoy at The Hague whether he were in a position to tell him what the Prussian Government would think of his parting with his sovereign rights as Grand Duke of Luxemburg." He (the envoy Perponcher) was instructed to say that Prussia had no opinion until the Powers, signatory at Vienna and at London, had been consulted. "The Dutch Government then

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charged their envoy at this capital to offer us their good offices, in the event of [our] needing them, in those negotiations with France which they thought would be shortly occasioned by their [Holland] ceding the Grand Duchy [laughter and merriment]. I replied that Prussia was not in a position to avail herself of the offer, since no negotiations had been opened."

Bismarck proceeded to reiterate that as far as he knew, no treaty had been concluded, and that it was not proper for him to dilate on the government's intentions at that moment. They all hoped that the indubitable rights of Germany were not to be invaded and, probably, those rights could be vindicated peacefully. "If, as the preceding speaker aptly hinted, our future deliberations in this House are of a kind to convince foreign governments of the harmony between the people and the governments of Germany the eventual fulfilment of our hopes will become all the more probable."

This was a pronunciamento well calculated to alarm the King of Holland and he withdrew from his bargain even though it was late in the eleventh hour. If Austria had not been weak from her late defeat, Russia busied with the East, and France on the eve of an Exposition, there would have been war, and probably Louis Napoleon could still have found allies.

After the speeches of April 1st, in the Reichs-

tag, the chorus of inspired newspapers in Germany burst out in louder tones and the refrain was repeated—"Give up a German land? Never! Never! Never!" Rarely has sentiment, deliberately manufactured for a political purpose, been so successful in attaining an end. There could have been no natural affection for land or people. Luxemburg had only had material interests allied with Germany for the few years since the Zollverein. The small isolated province had lived its own life, even after the mid-fifteenth century, whether in the circle of Burgundy or under the Spanish, and later the Austrian, Hapsburgs. All affiliations had been with the Belgic provinces. Twenty years of French Republican and imperial domination had not suited the people, but that was because of their religious feelings and conscription, not on account of race. Gladly would the Grand Duchy have stayed with the Belgian kingdom, where religious sentiment was congenial and the constitution liberal. Yet it had been fairly contented when left to itself under Prince Henry. But to Prussia in particular it had never looked for government, for culture, for sympathy, and no one dreamed of asserting that it had until Bismarck stirred up the obedient press to say so. And "public opinion" was potent that time!

The situation at Paris became strained. The legal formalities were so nearly concluded that all doubt had been dissipated as to the result. At

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first, Moustier advised the Emperor not to yield, while, on the other hand, his intimate friend Merimée told him that the interest of France ought not to be risked to acquire a tiny land "*qui ne valait pas les quatre fers du chien*."¹³ But the Emperor no longer found the purchase open to him. William III. said that his consent had always been subject to Prussia's endorsement, and the bargain was off. Besides, he had noted Bismarck's remark that Limburg was not German. That opened the way for another arrangement ardently desired by Holland. On his part, Moustier began to console himself with Bismarck's phrase that he wished to spare the "susceptibilities of the French."

And there was the Exposition! War was not to be. And all the parties began to remember that the Conference of London was the real guardian of Luxemburg with the Belgic provinces, and all agreed that its safety should be entrusted to a fresh council of those same Powers.

In Holland, for some months the matter had been kept, officially, rather quiet. Yet public opinion foresaw the crisis and found expression. An anonymous pamphlet, printed as early as August 26, 1866, had been addressed to the King, imploring him in the interests of peace to sever all connections with the German Confederation and to alienate the Grand Duchy rather than to permit it to expose the realm to war or to aggression.¹⁴ On April 5, 1867, the great liberal statesman, Thor-

becke, brought up the matter in parliament, as though he had but just heard of it from Berlin. His words are unequivocal: "It is now time to declare openly that the Netherlands are not involved in the disposition of Luxemburg, no matter what it may be. Germany, France, and Belgium are concerned therein. We have no interest in it, so far as I see. Our concern is that our foreign relations should not suffer from what happens in Luxemburg; that we should not be dragged into conflict on its account; . . . that there should be no pretext for enmity to us on its account. It is not fear that makes us look to our own rights, it is simply timely action to prevent our drifting into complications which are not our affair." His speech was an interpellation of ministerial action. He fiercely demanded how Bismarck could have said that the Netherlands envoy had offered his services in the negotiations *in re* Luxemburg, if such negotiations did not exist, and declared that a strange rôle had been ascribed to their diplomacy.

Van Zuylen had not expected this interpellation, but expressed himself as glad to explain and pointed out that the Netherlands government was entirely free from responsibility for the actions of the Grand Duke of Luxemburg. That is, he regarded the Grand Duchy as the personal possession of King William in his grand ducal capacity merely. Limburg was another matter, and the government was rejoiced that Bismarck had made

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it plain that it was entirely detached from the new German Confederation.¹⁵

Thorbecke did not find the minister's explanation very lucid. The connection between Netherlands intervention in regard to Luxemburg and the detachment of Limburg from German affiliations did not impress him as self-evident. For his own part, he closed the incident by stating that he would not say more, and that he was glad to have the assurance that there was to be no mediation on their part. "I will again repeat that the Netherlands are entirely alien to what happens in Luxemburg, no matter what rumours are spread abroad."

On the very same day when this declaration of the Netherlands' complete aloofness from the Luxemburg question was pronounced at The Hague, at London, Sir Robert Peel called the English Government sharply to account. He hurled indignant queries as to whether Louis Napoleon had tried to buy Luxemburg from the King of Holland at twenty pounds a head for the inhabitants, and whether the rupture of the negotiations was due to England. He hoped that it was, and then expatiated on the injurious effect of "our policy of isolation," which "dissociates this country from the nations of Europe."¹⁶

Lord Stanley replied that his official knowledge of the matter was only ten days old, and that he could not produce the documents because they were confidential, but the main point was that he had

not expected the cession to be concluded. The King of Holland had stipulated that the people's consent and Prussia's approval should be conditions of the transfer, and Stanley had been apprised that the latter condition would not be forthcoming. He was also sure that he was right in declining to let England be involved in a transaction that might be productive of serious consequences. "Sir, that is the whole case as far as it has gone. Something was said by the right Hon. Baronet as to the security of Belgium. The security of Belgium is an entirely different matter. Upon that question we are involved in a guaranty solemnly and deliberately entered upon. But the question of the security of Belgium did not in the slightest degree arise during the course of the present transactions."

Peel was not satisfied with the general answer and forced a categorical statement from the minister that the abandonment of the project "was not due to any action on the part of Her Majesty's government."

At Paris, an effort was made to treat the matter philosophically, after a few more attempts to achieve the cession had shown the strength of the opposition on all sides. Von Sybel had it from Louis Napoleon himself that he felt he had been duped by Bismarck,¹⁷ but he was not desirous of fighting at the moment. The interpellations had thrown the limelight so vividly upon the incident

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that it was evident that it could not be settled quietly and privately between William III. and the Emperor. On April 8th, Moustier felt called upon to make a statement to the Chamber of Deputies. The conclusion of his speech was: "Faithful to the principles which have invariably guided our policy, we have never contemplated this accession of territory except under three conditions: the free consent of the Grand Duke of Luxemburg, a loyal recognition of the interests of the Great Powers, the desire of the population as declared by universal suffrage. We are thus disposed to examine, in concert with the other cabinets of Europe, the clauses of the treaty of 1839. We shall bring to this examination the most perfect spirit of conciliation and we firmly believe that the Peace of Europe will not be troubled by this incident."¹⁸

The Minister of Foreign Affairs had need of some philosophy on his own account, for he was bitterly criticized for his part in the fiasco, which Benedetti charged as much to his delays as to William's timidity.

In the other Courts, the official attitude taken towards the matter was somewhat casual. Austria was not friendly towards Louis Napoleon's overtures to win her sympathy. Her suggestion was that Luxemburg be allotted to Belgium, while the forts of Philippeville and Marienburg could be ceded to France in compensation for her disappointment.

This suggestion gives a sidelight on the inherently international character of that border territory. Those particular Belgian forts were built under the personal supervision of William the Silent, founder of the Dutch Republic, when he was a young cadet in the service of the Hapsburg, Charles V. The description given in private letters of the mud in which the lieutenant was forced to stand, overseeing the construction, sounds like passages of modern letters from that territory instead of dating from the sixteenth century.

Austria's recommendation did not find favour in Belgium. There was more dismay at the idea of ceding forts with a large number of adjacent villages than pleasure at the chance of reuniting severed Luxemburg. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Rogier, while he was a fervent partisan for Luxemburg's return to Belgium, held that such cession would be unconstitutional, could not be considered without fresh elections, and would probably be defeated. There was, however, no parliamentary debate on the subject. When the King re-opened the Chamber of Representatives in November, 1866, after the Austro-Prussian war, he congratulated himself that Belgium had remained calm in the midst of the grave European disturbances. She had preserved the neutrality to which she was pledged, and which she "will maintain in the future as in the past, sincere, loyal,

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and strong." The vehement passion that had protested against the arrangements of 1839 did not find voice in 1867, when redress might, possibly, have been obtained to the obnoxious articles by which Luxemburg had been severed. They had just escaped the *fléau inexorable* which had struck middle Europe and there was no inclination to take any risks.¹⁹

Russia was vacillating in regard to her opinion. It changed from day to day with the government's desire to be friendly to all interests.

At Berlin, Bismarck was very reticent. The militant party brandished the shining sword, and the journals continued their patriotic demonstrations. Two ways were open to Prussia, and she stood quietly at their parting, watching events.

The Czar finally fluttered into a more decisive mood. "Do let us have peace," was his plea. This, England was ready to endorse. Queen Victoria wrote a personal letter to the King of Prussia, urging that the horrors of war be averted and difficulties settled diplomatically. It was one of her first efforts since the death of Prince Albert. Lord Stanley took pains to assure his own despatch of similar tenor reaching the King in Bismarck's absence. There were currents and cross currents, but there was general unanimity among the governments that war was not desirable. A conference of the signatories of 1839 was an idea that gradually gained ground. The first formal

proposition for that is ascribed to the Czar. He was far from being the first to take that ground, however. The idea had been promulgated in the Grand Duchy itself, proving that it was not wholly a pawn. The Lieutenant-Governor of Luxemburg, Prince Henry, had by no means been willing to see his brother hand the little land over the border. He wanted the Prussian garrison to go; he saw the difficulties of protecting the Grand Duchy from The Hague, but he conceived the idea that a tiny native garrison would suffice to hold the fort nominally, if it were really protected by international pledges of neutrality.

On March 22nd, he addressed a note to each member of the Luxemburg council outlining a scheme whereby they might save their autonomy, while contenting "German sentiment and satisfying the *amour propre* and generous spirit of France." He proposed to raise 1800 or 2000 Luxemburg troops as a garrison to replace the Prussians and allow the King Grand Duke to enter into the "plenitude of his rights." At the same time he suggested that the signatories of 1839 should be asked to declare Luxemburg neutral and to recognize the complete independence and autonomy of the Grand Duchy.³⁰ As a matter of fact, his propositions were nearly those that were finally adopted, although no credit was given to him.

Once broached, the plan of the Conference was

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perfected with surprising rapidity. The question had excited England and the Continent in a fashion to alarm everyone. Showers of queries, wise and foolish, were poured upon the English Government, while the Earl of Derby assured impatient members of the House of Commons that hourly telegrams were passing between foreign ministers in their efforts to arrange matters speedily and to allay the apprehensions of imminent war.

It was the King Grand Duke who issued the formal invitations to the Powers to send representatives authorized to discuss the question of the independence and neutrality of Luxemburg, the guarantee by the Powers, and the evacuation of the existing garrison. Nor was the list confined to those represented in 1839. Denmark, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Belgium intimated their desire to be bidden, and the claims of the last two were duly allowed. The anti-war party was delighted at the evidence of sweet reasonableness.

On May 7th, ten gentlemen met in London.²¹ In the main, they were the ambassadors already resident at the Court of St. James. Austria appointed Count Apponyi; Belgium, M. Van de Weyer; France, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne; England, Lord Stanley; Italy, the Marquis d'Azeglio; Holland and the Grand Duchy, Baron Bentinck, Baron de Tornaco, and M. Servais; Prussia, Count von Bernstorff; Russia, Baron Brunnow.

The presence of Baron de Tornaco, the President, and of M. Servais, the Vice-President of the Council of State of Luxemburg, as colleagues to Baron Bentinck from The Hague, gave the Grand Duchy the appearance of having a voice in her own affairs, although it was evidently due to Holland's desire to hold aloof from the King's interests as Grand Duke.

The meeting was organized and Lord Stanley was made president. After brief preliminaries, he requested the representatives of Luxemburg to state the considerations which had led to the conference on the Grand Duchy. Baron Tornaco's answer was that his knowledge of the course of recent diplomatic communications between the Great Powers respecting the question of Luxemburg was insufficient to enable him to comply with the demand.

Baron Bentinck was more communicative and stated that the object of the meeting was the revision of the treaty of 1839 and that he thanked the Powers in his King's name for having accepted his invitation. Then Lord Stanley produced a draft of a new treaty prepared by himself and had it read aloud for the benefit of the Luxemburg gentlemen who had arrived in London only on May 6th. After some talk, during which Count von Bernstorff pointed out that the treaty of 1839 was defective inasmuch as it had failed to guarantee the neutrality of Luxemburg, it was decided to

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discuss the articles phrase by phrase. The first article was carried as it stood. To the second, Count von Bernstorff proposed an amendment which provided that the neutrality of Luxemburg should be placed under the collective guarantee of the Powers excepting Belgium, which was itself neutral. This was carried, after some discussion as to whether neutrality were not implied by protection, and thus already existent. Baron Tornaco made some efforts to obtain compensation for the loss of the fortress of Luxemburg and for the expense of demolition, but his claims were waved aside with the general assurance that the King of Holland would not let his subjects suffer. Another suggestion of Tornaco's about the commercial and customs rights of the Grand Duchy was quashed by Bernstorff with the assertion that neither was affected by the treaty.

The Belgian Van de Weyer, who exerted himself in 1839 to keep Luxemburg within the Belgian fold, had little to say at the conference, at least little that appears on the formal records. The French statesman, Emile Ollivier, asserts that if the Belgian Government had but put forth her claim vigorously, it would not have been denied, and that Belgium would have recovered "*le lambeau qu'on lui avait arraché.*" But Belgium's sole representative on this important occasion was old and no longer as enterprising as he had been twenty-eight years previously. Nor was he urged

on to action by the cabinet in Brussels. Frère Orban and Bara, two prominent members of the Cabinet, and the King himself were afraid to take any risk or to excite any conflict with Holland at the moment. "Doubtless," comments Ollivier, the "amputation had been painful, but neither people nor press continued to be concerned with the fate of the 'lost brothers.' They considered that the separation belonged to the realm of the *faits accomplis*." Rogier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, could not get the necessary support to realize his own hopes, and Belgium's great opportunity was not seized.²²

Possibly, in addition to other reasons for the apathy and acquiescence, there was reluctance to oppose Prussia in anything at the moment, for the relations between the courts of Berlin and Brussels were very pleasant and the marriage of the Count of Flanders had just been celebrated at Berlin in the presence of both kings. The bride was a daughter of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, sister to Leopold, later candidate for the crown of Spain. King William of Prussia acted ostentatiously as the head of his House, and the occasion was a notable one.

The combination of harmony and passivity prevailing among the members of the Conference facilitated the rapid execution of the business. M. Servais intimates, indeed, that the agreement was less perfect than appeared in the official reports and

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that it was Prussia who forced a speedy conclusion, after Bismarck had once made up his mind to yield the point of the garrison. The Luxemburg deputies would have preferred to return home for further instructions but were obliged to yield to pressure and act promptly. Thus after four days only of debate the articles as drafted by Lord Stanley were passed with some amendments and duly accepted by the plenipotentiaries on May 11th. The gentlemen separated with many expressions of appreciation of their own "conciliatory dispositions" that had brought their "deliberations to a happy issue." How far the public agreed with them then remained to be seen. Between May 11th, and the exchange of ratifications on May 31st, there were many expressions of opinion on the interpretation of the articles which were as follows.

ARTICLES OF TREATY RELATIVE TO GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG

I. His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, maintains the ties which attach the said Grand Duchy to the House of Orange-Nassau, in virtue of the Treaties which placed that State under the Sovereignty of the King Grand Duke, his descendants and successors. The rights which the Agnates of the House of Nassau possess with regard to the succession of the Grand Duchy, in virtue of those same Treaties, are maintained.

II. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, within the limits determined by the Act annexed to the Treaties of April 19, 1839, under the guarantee of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, shall henceforth form a perpetually neutral State.

It shall be bound to observe the same neutrality towards the other States.

The High Contracting Parties engage to respect the principle of neutrality stipulated by the present article.

This principle remains placed under the sanction of the collective guarantee of the signatory Powers of the present treaty with the exception of Belgium, which is itself a neutral state. [This paragraph was added to Lord Stanley's draft.]

III. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg being neutralized, according to the terms of the preceding Article, the maintenance or establishment of fortresses upon its territory becomes without necessity as well as without object.

In consequence, it is agreed by common consent, that the city of Luxemburg, considered, in time past, in a military point of view, as a Federal fortress, shall cease to be a fortified city and shall remain only the capital of the civil administration of the country.

His Majesty the King Grand Duke promises to maintain for the future in the city no more than the number of troops necessary to provide in it for the maintenance of good order [K. G. D. reserves to himself to maintain in that city the number], etc.

IV. In conformity with the stipulations contained in Articles II and III, His Majesty the King of Prussia declares that his troops actually in garrison in the

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fortress of Luxemburg shall receive orders to evacuate the place immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty. Simultaneously shall be commenced the withdrawal of artillery, of munitions, and of all objects making part of the equipment of the said stronghold. During this operation there shall remain only the number of troops sufficient to protect the material of war and to hasten the work which must be achieved with the briefest possible delay.

On May 15th, M. Rogier appeared before the Belgian Parliament and made his report on the articles. "The independence and neutrality of Belgium being entirely *hors de cause*, our plenipotentiary was especially instructed to concur in every measure which could tend towards a pacific solution in conformity with our interest and our rights." That phrase occurring in his recital suggests the keynote to what had happened. M. Van de Weyer simply had not dared to obstruct the current. And the consolation for Belgium's loss, or at least for her failure to recover a loss, is found in the next paragraph of the Minister's address. "It is, moreover, not without interest for our land, as the Chamber will understand, to have been represented, for the first time, at a political Congress which has had the rare good fortune to preserve to Europe the benefits of Peace,—that supreme weal of nations."

When the presiding officer, M. Dumortier, accepted the report, he too expressed satisfaction

that a war had been averted and then proceeded to rehearse the history of Luxemburg's close relation with Belgium and his own profound sorrow at the turn of circumstances. "It had to be neutralized, and then, what more natural than its return to Belgium, which is neutral under the guarantees of Europe?

"I cherished the firm hope, therefore, of seeing our brothers of Luxemburg return to the Belgian family, from which they never should have been separated. I wish, Gentlemen, to express herewith my profound regret, that I, in common with all good patriots, feel because this was not attained. I do not know what circumstance arose to impose an obstacle. I know how delicate it would be to interpellate the Minister of Foreign Affairs on this point, but with the hypothesis that Luxemburg may fall to one of the Powers, I cherish the most ardent wish that she may eventually return to the Mother Land." ³³

In London, there was less hesitancy about asking questions. In both Houses, the sponsors for the law were called upon with some acrimony to defend their action in making England responsible for what seemed to be in direct contradiction "to the principle of non-intervention supposed of late years to regulate our foreign policy." Labouchère considered that the guarantee *in re* Luxemburg was given for the distinct purpose of preventing a war between Prussia and

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France which "secured intervention in its most insidious and dangerous form." He thought Lord Stanley was wholly wrong in his estimate of the treaty of 1839, and that Bismarck had wheedled a pledge out of England, by asking for a European guarantee before he withdrew the Prussian garrison. "The King of Prussia did not care for a moral guarantee." There was much more to the same effect, all expressive of the fear that England had gone too far. "Nothing had done so much harm to the English name as a certain recklessness in undertaking obligations and a great discretion in fulfilling them," etc. Stanley's defence of the treaty took the ground that the guarantees were not lightly given, that they limited, not extended, England's responsibility. Luxemburg was differentiated from Belgium because the "guarantee now given is collective only. That is an important distinction. It thus means, that in the event of a violation of neutrality all the Powers who signed the treaty may be called upon for their collective action. It is a case so to speak of 'limited liability.' . . . Such a guarantee has, obviously, rather the character of a moral sanction to the arrangements it defends than that of a contingent liability to make war. It would no doubt give the right to make war but it would not necessarily impose the obligation. That would be a question to consider when the occasion arose."

At the end, Lord Stanley's explanation was accepted, though not unanimously, and applauded by many "because by entering into the guarantee, England paid a certain price to prevent a European war, in the interest not only of Europe but of humanity." One speaker, while acknowledging that the only possible course had been adopted, wished that the Conference had tried to effect a general disarmament. "It had seemed legitimate for Prussia to arm her population for defence when that population numbered 19,000,000, but now that the State controlled the military forces of 37,000,000, the arming of all Prussian men took on an aspect of defiance. It simply compelled other states to follow the example." There was a clash of opinion on this point, and an expression of conviction that Prussia, satisfied with the position she had achieved, would be willing to listen to councils of prudence—so that disarmament was not needful. Then the debate closed in the Commons with a general approval of Lord Stanley's work. The Lords set forth their critical comments a little later with similar variations of opinion as to the degree of responsibility assumed by England. Several points remained misty in regard to the "collective guarantee," but the treaty became law.

In Berlin, Bismarck, like a very Pygmalion, found himself confronted by German sentiment that he had himself solidified into being. He met

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criticism lightly and declared that the Prussian garrison could not be maintained under changed conditions, and that he was satisfied with the collective guarantee of neutrality and the demolition of the fortress.

The criticism did not die away at once. There were various ebullitions of fierce indignation that German unity had been infringed. But Bismarck bore it unflinchingly.

Possibly he continued his work of inspiration. The Cologne *Zeitung*, the later name of the old *Gazette*, and, practically, an official organ, one of the journals that had been most indignant at the thought of any stranger encroaching upon ancient German territory, gave space in its columns to an anonymous communication which declared that Luxemburg was neither French nor German, that imperial candidates were never confined to men of German blood, that the ancient incorporation of the duchy in the empire had no significance as many lands had once been within that now were without Germany, with many more arguments to the same purport. The concluding paragraphs are: "Even the circumstance that a German idiom is current in Luxemburg is not decisive. The people of eastern Switzerland are out and out German. But to our knowledge no one has ever asserted that Germany has a claim to Switzerland on that account.

"A common origin does not form the sole

foundation of a State. The sentiment of belonging together, springing from common interests, common religion, animated by a memory of a common history and experience, is, above all, the underlying principle of nationality. Luxemburg and the Luxemburgers do not care to be incorporated in France. According to the declaration of Count Bismarck himself, they also have no inclination to enter the North German Confederation, and since neither Germany nor the North German Confederation has any right to Luxemburg, its entrance cannot be forced. If, therefore, the King Grand Duke wishes to divest himself of the sovereignty of Luxemburg, a four-century-long history, the community of religious confession and the common sacrifice of blood and property in 1830 as proof of a popular desire—all point to the re-union of the land to neutral Belgium.*”

The theme was amplified and developed entirely in sympathy with the facts as known by pro-Belgian Luxemburgers without the camouflage of pan-Germanism. The star points to a note: “We permit our honoured contributor to expound his opinion”—a disclaimer for editorial responsibility. It is possible, however, that the article was sanctioned, if not endorsed. The date of publication was April 25th, the Belgian-Prussian wedding was celebrated on April 26th, and it may have been that Bismarck was willing to have a suggestion thrown out that would have been pleasing to

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Leopold II., then a guest at Berlin, leaving its realization to the turn taken by the international discussions. Certainly, nothing could have been more definite and clear than the article in question.

In Holland, the satisfaction at the recovery of Limburg was profound, while the continued attachment of Luxemburg to the reigning family was a matter of comparative indifference.

In France, the philosophical tone was maintained. On May 13th, Moustier announced the results of the Conference in the Chamber, declaring that the articles "were entirely in conformity with the sentiments of the Imperial government." The northern frontier was protected by the guarantee of a new neutral State. An imminent conflict was avoided and a good understanding between France and her neighbours was strengthened, etc. Then the matter was dismissed. Paris was free to make the most of her great Exposition.

And in Luxemburg itself? Baron de Tornaco and M. Servais returned home able to assure the anxious inhabitants that they were to "remain what they were." Reassurance was needed, for the agitation throughout the Grand Duchy had been profound, the more so because all real knowledge of the progress of the negotiations was lacking and the people were fed on vague rumours given out with an authoritative air by French or German sympathizers, while all living within

the city itself could hear the sounds of hammers going night and day within the ceinture of the fortress, strengthening the defences in behalf of Prussia, still in possession of the stronghold. Even after the Conference had decided the matter, the work went on and the evidence of their ears was more disquieting to Luxemburgers than the first news of the treaty.

By that their position was changed in several material particulars.

The fortress which had been the pride as well as the curse of the city for centuries was eventually dismantled, and Luxemburg was metamorphosed into an open city, while the state was to be neutral, somewhat on the plan of Belgium and yet different. If attacked, Belgium could defend herself. Luxemburg was deprived completely of that privilege. Luxemburg was left wholly dependent on the collective guarantee of the Powers who had signed the treaty, excepting Belgium and herself—the former expressly excluded from responsibility.

The link between Limburg and the Grand Duchy, existing since 1839 in their united representation at the Diet, was broken. Limburg became entirely Dutch and an integral part of the kingdom, while the complete independence of the Grand Duchy and freedom from any connection with the North German Confederation were recognized. It was an autonomous state, in spite of its small area and meagre population. Its

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Grand Duke was still the King of Holland, but the Grand Duchy was not subject to the same laws of inheritance as was the kingdom. In the latter, female heirs were recognized on the failure of heirs male in the direct line; in the former the Nassau family compact of 1783 was to regulate the inheritance of the title and to carry it to the distant Walramian branch of the Nassaus, to the German line, if heirs male failed in the House of Orange-Nassau. In 1867, there were, it is true, two sons as heirs to William III., but this provision gained in importance a few years later. It was not new at the time of this treaty. It had been inserted in the articles of the treaty of 1815, but it was reasserted by the Conference of London. There was nothing in it that belonged to the ancient traditions of Luxemburg. Ermesinde of Luxemburg and Elizabeth of Goerlitz were both considered eligible to be sovereigns of Luxemburg as well as Mary of Burgundy. The Salic Law had no vogue in the territory until made valid, arbitrarily, by the Congress of Vienna.

CHAPTER XII

THE WARD OF THE POWERS

THE friendly outcome of the conference at London enabled Louis Napoleon to act the gracious host to Prussian royalties as well as to the rest of his distinguished guests at the Paris Exposition. But the glamour displayed on that splendid occasion was mere camouflage for the coming tragedy of his life. France was disappointed in him, while Prussia and Bismarck were no longer inclined to be complaisant from any fear of imperial influence. Moreover, the closing days of the sovereigns' visit in the French capital were clouded by an attempt on the Czar's life and by the arrival of the news of Archduke Maximilian's tragic death in Mexico. For that disaster the French Emperor was blamed, as he had failed to continue the support confidently counted upon. His own visit of condolence to Austria, late in the summer of 1867, did not enable Louis Napoleon to retrieve himself, while his attempt to form friendly relations with the South German princes, through whose domains he passed, was

another miserable fiasco. Thus France entered on the final act of the Empire at the same time that the little Grand Duchy was launched upon a new phase of her own political existence.

The two Luxemburg deputies left the Conference of London in different tempers. Baron Tornaco was depressed, while Emmanuel Servais was fairly content with the proceedings and in a mood to enjoy what he could as a traveller. He found time to visit Parliament and the English courts and, on his homeward journey, to take in the Exposition and watch some sessions of the Chamber of Deputies at Paris, wondering how any work could be accomplished in such a turmoil, as many another observer has wondered before and since. In common with Baron Tornaco, he felt that Luxemburg officials had been treated very shabbily before the Conference. They had not received their papers until the very night before the opening of the meetings, and had taken their seats uninformed of all that had previously taken place. But when all was ended, Servais was convinced that Luxemburg was well out of the difficulties and, as it turned out, it was he who became the pilot for the government during the troublous period of the Franco-Prussian War when the work of the Conference bid fair to be effaced. The story of his personal career is interesting, as it goes hand in hand with the evolution of grand ducal Luxemburg.¹

Emmanuel Servais was born at Mersch on April 11, 1811, and began his higher education at the Athenæum of Luxemburg. His father was burgomaster and member of the provincial council under the Holland régime. In 1829, he went to study at Ghent, but a year later the Flemish university was disorganized by the revolution and, after taking a candidate's degree in law, Servais proceeded to Paris where he saw a good deal of the aftermath of the French events of that fateful year, 1830, and took his bachelor's degree. His studies were completed at Liège, where he received his doctorate. Law had not been his major choice. He had selected philosophy as his first subject, but decided that he had not the head for speculation. Concrete politics were more to his taste. And the Europe of his youth and young manhood was full of interest. His first reading was about Napoleon and the picture of the executive military genius shut up at St. Helena had fired his boyish imagination. When the reaction against the restoration principles began to ferment, Servais was nineteen years old and ready to be keenly interested in all that was being agitated. His education was that of a typical cultivated Luxemburger, as he went easily from one university to another in the United Netherlands and in France.

The general forlornity of existence in his home province was the first impression of life for young

Servais, and he grew up with a generation who based their hopes on the principle of revolution as the best means of escaping from the ills of life. Thus he was thoroughly prepared for and, in common with nearly all Luxemburgers, heartily in sympathy with the revolt of 1830.

In 1833, Servais began the practice of law at Arlon and, at an early age, was member of the provincial council, following naturally in the footsteps of his father. But profession and politics were not his only occupations. In conjunction with a friend, Victor Terch, he had founded *L'Echo du Luxembourg*, a liberal paper, devoted to the new Belgium and, during the years when the treaty of London hung in abeyance owing to the King of Holland, filled with protests against the stipulated severance between the two portions of Luxemburg.

When the question of the settlement was resumed in 1838, Servais was among the most bitter opponents to the acquiescent policy of the government. He engineered a collection of ten sous' subscriptions to pay for a medal inscribed *Un Infame*, as a characterization of the cession. He had grown attached to the new order in Belgium, under which there had been marked improvement in local conditions. During all this period, 1831-1839, Arlon was the seat of the administration for the Grand Duchy adhering to Belgium. The city of Luxemburg alone remained under the

control of the King Grand Duke, and the Prussian garrison.

During the eight years of union the Luxemburgers were exceptionally well treated in the Belgian kingdom. Many important posts were filled by them. They were ministers, generals, professors, governors, and councillors in the high courts of appeal. Out of the twenty pupils of the upper class of the Luxemburg Athenæum of Servais's time more than half were in the administration at one time or another. The idea of being handed over to German influence was very repugnant to these men. Yet when the final break came, Servais was among those whose formal option was for Luxemburg nationality, instead of throwing himself into Belgium as Nothomb did, although it meant leaving Arlon, which became the capital of the Belgian province.

He was among the members of the provincial council who appealed in person to Leopold I. to prevent the cession and, naturally, felt bitter when the appeal proved futile and when the counter appeals, imploring the King to accept the twenty-four articles and avoid war, prevailed.

When the division of the land was actually made, Servais settled at Luxemburg to begin his practice anew but was blocked for a time, as the first governor appointed by the King Grand Duke, Herman Hassenpflug, a reactionary, prevented his admission to the bar in the capital on account

of his well-known pro-Belgian sentiments. Appeal to the Grand Duke himself brought a reversal of this order, and Servais returned to his profession after a period of enforced vacation which he employed in writing for the *Echo*. Very soon, too, he returned to official life, being one of a deputation to welcome William II., for whom he had not conceived an enthusiasm, but whose justice towards Luxemburg he acknowledged, and of a commission convened at The Hague to draw up the articles, which initiated separate constitutional government for the quasi-independent state (1841).

Thus from the beginning of the new order, Servais was connected with public affairs, and continued so, sometimes in and sometimes out of the administration. He tried to prevent the entrance of the Grand Duchy into the Zollverein and was deeply disappointed that Leopold II. did not make more of an effort to keep it attached economically to Belgium. He thought that could have been done and that again Belgium had failed to seize an opportunity.²

In his law practice he had to adjust himself to new methods, as the Luxemburg courts adopted the Dutch system and there was no jury to which he had been accustomed throughout his whole legal experience at Arlon. But on the whole he did not regret its abolition, as he thought that if he were guilty he should prefer trial by jury, if

innocent by a judge. When not in office, Servais wrote for *La Patriote* until he decided that his articles were not fairly printed, the verbal changes made in them making him appear to espouse opinions contrary to his convictions.

From 1853 Servais was a member of the administration as minister of finance. The office was difficult as there was a serious deficit. For a time the sale of forests, etc., tided the government along and gave some revenue. Then Servais made a determined effort to keep down expenses and was accused of sitting on the money chest and driving off any one who was inclined to open it too often.

The great difficulty in regard to the customs duties was that they were directed by the prime minister at Berlin. Servais prided himself on defying Prussia in two instances. When Luxemburg entered the Zollverein, the excise on brandy was the same there as in Prussia. In 1854 the latter increased the rate and asked Luxemburg to do the same. Servais refused and was not moved by Prussia's threat to tax importation of the article, as he knew that there was no sale for Luxemburg brandy in Prussia. The tax proved an actual advantage to the Grand Duchy, although the Prussian customs officer stationed at the border tried to evade it, and Servais had to remind him forcibly that he had taken an oath to the Grand Duke and was bound to obey his

regulations. Then, when the Crimean War was in progress, the Prussian garrison demanded the prohibition of the exportation of horses from Luxemburg, but was forced to acquiesce in Servais's refusal. The horses were sold in France.

Servais was especially interested in all phases of agricultural development. He elaborated laws on drainage and irrigation and took pains to see that they were no dead letter. He planned a system of rural credits to help placing the crops in market, instituted marsh-draining, and introduced fine breeds of cattle and horses. The deputies were very timid about adopting his enterprising suggestions. They remembered that the introduction of Durhams had been greatly criticized and were afraid to apply public funds to similar experiments. A school of agriculture was established at Echternach by Servais's efforts. This was popular at first, but hardly a permanent success owing to a distrust of new methods. And the same thing was true of the rural credits. On November 30, 1857, Servais was relieved from his functions as general administrator, after his resignation had been refused several times, but he continued to fill various offices, being Councillor of State and one of a committee on litigation.

In April, 1867, Servais was Vice-President of the Council of State, and anti-Prussian in sympathy. In 1865 he had been sent to Berlin to see about renewing the Customs Union and stayed

six weeks. He was surprised to note that soldiers and officers who had taken part in the Danish war prided themselves on their achievements, "As if the victory won by a big Power over a small people without cause could be glorious." He was glad to have leisure to visit the Chamber where, "I was much impressed by the calmness of the discussions and by the resignation with which the majority accepted a declaration contrary to constitutional principles made by M. Bismarck. There was a very lively encounter, however, between that gentleman and M. Virchow."

With such a record of continuous public service behind him it is not surprising that Emmanuel Servais was chosen to accompany Baron de Tornaco to London to the Conference that was to settle the fate of the Grand Duchy to which he had been a faithful servant almost continuously for thirty-four years. Servais was then fifty-six years old and thoroughly initiated into all conditions of his native state. On the return of the commissioners to Luxemburg, the first governmental measure necessary was the submission of the treaty to the Luxemburg deputies who ratified it amid some expressions of anxiety as to how the dismantlement of the fortress was to be executed, and as to the effect the change would have on the city and its prosperity. The citizens had grown used to the incumbrance and, like children, did not see exactly what they would do without it.

Moreover, they distrusted Prussia's sincerity. The reinforcement had hardly ceased, and it was difficult to believe that all that good work was to be thrown away. Apprehensions were allayed, however, by the promptness in which counter operations took place. At the end of June the evacuation was commenced and proceeded steadily until September, when the last troops marched out and took formal leave of city officials in a most amicable fashion. There were some speeches in the Place, and then the garrison crossed the frontier, after half a century of occupation. The amount of stuff they carried off during that summer was prodigious. The fortress was remarkably well supplied with all necessities, and it took time to empty it.

After the Prussians were gone, Bismarck was very impatient to have the demolition hastened to completion. He was uneasy at the thought of an empty stronghold offering convenient shelter to other troops. Although the Powers had no responsibility for the operation, he sent an inspector to note the progress, and, by February, 1869, was satisfied, that there was nothing dangerous in the way of defensive works. By July, 1870, Luxemburg was an open city.

As the great walls fell away, the inhabitants found amusement in taking liberties with the fading bulwarks. It was wonderful to walk in boldly where sentinels had barred the way to

them and to their ancestors for so many generations. It was like the Trojans approaching the wooden horse, only the Luxemburgers were able actually to peer inside, as stone after stone fell away.

Europe paid little heed to all this. The signing of the treaty had ended the matter. But in Luxemburg it was only the outward and visible signs that affected the imagination. Then a national force marched into the capital, as a further sign of the new independence. That was another event that appealed to popular imagination. All along the road the peasants greeted their own soldiers with joyous acclamations, throwing flowers and refreshments to the ranks of the little army, empowered to act as police, at least, to the little land now, indeed, without a country,—*Heimatsloss*, according to Treitschke.

Servais was willing to retire from public service but new responsibilities were to be his. Baron Tornaco, President for seven years, had lost the confidence of the deputies. They had not liked his somewhat hesitating or pro-French attitude during the crisis of 1866–1867, and he soon perceived that the majority were against his views of provision for their defence. He resigned and Emmanuel Servais was appointed President in his stead.

The next task for the Luxemburg deputies was a revision of their constitution, to suit their

detached condition. The articles finally adopted in 1868, and now in vogue, show traces of the Grand Duchy's varied political past.³ There are evidences of much of the legislation that had been successively enacted. There was not, as in the Belgian constitution, any definite declaration that the sovereignty was lodged in the people, nor any statement that it was vested in the person of the hereditary Grand Duke, such as had been introduced in the reactionary articles of 1856. The constitution was thus less democratic than the Belgian instrument upon which that of 1848 was founded and conceived in a very different spirit from the reactionary German type of constitution of 1856. The nominal chief executive was the Grand Duke who promulgated the laws that he could not make without the sanction of the Chamber of forty-eight deputies, elected for six-year terms, one half every three years. There was besides a council of fifteen members appointed by the Grand Duke which formed a kind of upper House. The members have a suspensive veto for six months.

While, as a rule, the Grand Duke introduces bills, the Chamber may take the initiative, as well as having the power to amend, so that the government is counted as a parliamentary one. The Chamber not only controls the budget, devoted entirely to the Grand Duke, but votes annually on retaining or dismissing the President

of the government. The responsibility of the government is thus clearly in force. Any minister may be removed. The government is bound to give the deputies information, while they have the right to order an investigation and to ask the minister to be present at the sessions so that he may hear the expression of opinion, approval, or disapproval, on the part of the deputies. According to the spirit of the constitution, there must be explanations and comments on all points that are not clear. Yet there is rarely a block. The legal means of redress lies in the retirement of the government or of a portion of it, or in the dissolution of the Chamber.

The final article defined the status.

"The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg is an independent, indivisible, unalterable, and permanently neutral state. No cession, no exchange, no accession of territory can take place except through the enactment of a law."

Now, in 1867 neutrality was no new thing. Switzerland and Belgium were both neutral, but there was this difference between them and the new creation. They both had the right of defence. Their own hands were still armed to defend their neutrality, while Luxemburg was defenceless.

The representation was calculated on the basis of one deputy to from 4000 to 5500 inhabitants, elected by direct franchise on a tax qualification of 10 francs. It was expressly stated that each

deputy was to represent the whole land's interests, not the local concerns of his district. The deputies were to meet without summons on the first Tuesday after November 3rd. The official language was French. Freedom of assembly and association was assured and likewise freedom of the press.

As a matter of fact this constitution of Luxembourg was rather a code of law than a constitution delegating powers. There are 121 articles in all, and many touch on numerous detailed rights, such as are ordinarily left to minor instruments. For instance, it was stipulated that any student might pursue his studies at any university that he wished, and many other regulations are specified that would naturally be simply taken for granted.

The constitution was adopted with almost no amendments and became the law of the land on October 17, 1868. Thus the first item of the administration which Servais had told Prince Henry was more than he cared to undertake, was disposed of satisfactorily. He had assumed office just at the end of 1867, on December 3rd, faced with problems of foreign relations, finances, military affairs, railways, religion, agriculture, and commerce. Eighteen months later secondary education, too, was added to his charges. It was no light duty, even though the state was small, but Servais always felt that his colleagues seconded him ably.

In addition to the above problems, the new

President was implored to suggest some remedy for the high cost of living, as food was very dear.

In regard to the native troops that succeeded the old garrison, Prince Henry was opposed to reducing the numbers, as he was influenced by the Commander of the Chasseurs, who, naturally, wished to remain in active service. It was Paul Eyschen the President of 1914, then a deputy, who proposed the substitution of a small corps of volunteers in lieu of the 1500 regulars. The law as passed in May, 1868, provided for a militia system with an effective force of 18 officers and 587 non-commissioned officers and men. As a matter of fact this modest standard was never reached. The number was always less.

It fell to Servais to satisfy the officers forced to retire by giving them a higher rank.

"I was obliged to sign the commissions of a general, of several colonels, and majors. Afraid of exciting hilarity I had the notices published in the Memorial, where no publicity was given, while the beneficiaries were none the less flattered," are the President's own comments on his dispensation of military honours, which he felt were too grandiose for the diminutive state.

The railroads never ceased to be a matter of concern to the grand ducal government as they were slow to be profitable. In 1868 the French *Compagnie de l'Est* entered into a fresh agreement with the *Guillaume Luxemburg* and the secret

agreement, whereby the French Government backed it by a guarantee of a minimum revenue, became known. A new convention, with a term of forty-five years, was ratified by the Luxemburg Government in January, 1869. But that did not cover the whole transportation question, and with the other system, the *Prince Henry*, various difficulties had arisen which involved litigation between the government and the railroads. This was finally settled in court to the government's advantage, a decision that gave great popular satisfaction.

When the crucial year of 1870 arrived Luxemburg was in the following position: it was an independent State, unarmed, with its immunity from attack protected by a collective guarantee on the part of the Powers, a guarantee that had been generally conceded to be different from that given to Belgium. It had no longer any link with Germany, but was allied to Prussia and the North German Confederation by the Customs Union and by the tie of Teutonic speech, although the dialect was very pronounced and hardly comprehensible to a German of the North. There was a Luxemburg coinage but the Grand Duchy was in the monetary franc union and German and Dutch coins were in current circulation, though German alone were valid for the customs. The speech of the government was French, the courts were bi-lingual, the family of the lieutenant-

governor were half German, but used French rather than German, because in the sixties it was still considered more elegant.

The main railroad system connecting the Luxemburg lines with the outside world were entirely under the control of the *Compagnie de l'Est*, known to be subsidized by the French Imperial Government. The Luxemburg Government had reserved to itself the right of controlling any new concessions to branch roads. Moreover, it may be added that there was a new impulse to railroad construction and there were new projects constantly being put on foot from France, Germany, and Belgium, the latter in the interests of many projects. How was the neutralized country, with its fortress gone, going to fare after the outbreak of war?

This was the time when Bismarck renewed the Luxemburg question by making public the Benedetti draft, declaring that it had been offered to him *after* the Conference of London, that it was a proof of Louis Napoleon's perfidy in the face of the treaty he had signed and a witness to his intention of annexing Belgium to France. "The impossibility for me to agree to such proposals was certainly clear to everybody, with the sole exception of French diplomats. . . . When the more modest French designs in regard to Luxemburg had been counteracted by events that are publicly known, the more extensive propositions

embracing Belgium and Southern Germany were renewed. It was at this time, in 1867, that Count Benedetti's manuscript was communicated to me." The Prussian diplomat added that the Emperor's plan plainly was to "enforce Count Benedetti's programme at the head of the two armies [Prussian and French] against unarmed Europe, that is to say, to conclude peace at the expense of Belgium." These words were written by Bismarck on July 26, 1870, to Count von Bernstorff in London, to be formally communicated to Lord Granville and the English Government.⁴

"A predatory treaty in the good old-fashioned style of the seventeenth century," commented the *London Times*, thus aiding Bismarck's scheme of inflaming public opinion against Louis Napoleon and the duped Benedetti. By a later verdict, as already related, an earlier date has been assigned to the incriminating document and the words separated from the handwriting.

The agreements of 1867 were too fresh in mind for an evasion of their provisions to be attempted. "France will respect the neutrality of Luxemburg as long as Prussia respects it," was the declaration on one side.

"In the name of the North German Confederation, the neutrality of the Grand Duchy shall be respected as long as France respects it," was equally clear, "on the presumption that," added Bismarck, "it would be maintained with earnest-

ness and good will by the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg."

And the ward of Europe stood like the lamb drinking in the same stream as the wolf, awaiting the outcome of the conflict.

It was not long, however, before several things happened to annoy Bismarck seriously. He felt that he had legitimate grievances and sent a circular (December 3rd), to Count von Bernstorff in London desiring him to say as much to the British Government.⁵ His complaints were that French soldiers had been allowed to cross Luxemburg to join the colours, with no effort being made to intern them, and that the French Vice-Consul had established a regular office at the railway station to aid fugitives, and that, after the capture of Metz, French refugee soldiers had been received in the Grand Duchy, and that Luxemburg officials had connived at all these acts. More than that, on the night of September 24-25th, a train belonging to the *Guillaume Luxemburg* system, controlled by the *Compagnie de l'Est* had been run down to Thionville—that old Luxemburg city annexed to France by Louis XIV. in 1659—to relieve the beleaguered inhabitants with fresh supplies of food. By December, Thionville had fallen indeed, but that made no difference in the principle. Luxemburg had connived in its revictualment, and by so doing the Prussian Government "can no longer consider itself bound to any considera-

tion of the neutrality of the Grand Duchy in the military operations of the German Army and measures for the security of the German troops against the injustice inflicted on them from Luxemburg." This was plain speaking, and a series of letters chased each other from one European chancery to another with discussions of Bismarck's menacing words.

In the Grand Duchy, a Patriotic Committee supervised a general petition to the King Grand Duke protesting against the charge of bad faith on Luxemburg's part. William III. was implored to remember its independence, its neutrality, its traditions, its laws, and its institutions. Drafts were sent to every commune where signatures were showered upon the document to be forwarded to the King Grand Duke with the following note⁶:

"His Highness Prince Henry, the well-loved representative of Your Majesty, has witnessed the unceasing efforts made by our government to preserve the neutrality we enjoy; the neighbouring nations, Prussia, France, and Belgium can distinctly certify to having constantly seen little Luxemburg foremost at the post of charity and benevolence; and the whole of Europe can confirm with its word the declaration made to you at this solemn moment by an unfortunate people who have no other means for its defence than the sentiment of right, duty, and justice.

"Our poor country is in greater danger than it

has been at any moment of our history. In the midst of this supreme crisis we implore Your Majesty to save Luxemburg and never to permit its political existence to be determined without the free vote of the population."

To their fellow-citizens the committee's appeal had been:

"The independence and the neutrality of our Grand Duchy are in danger. The Government of Prussia, one of the guarantors of the Treaty of London, has withdrawn itself from its engagement. A change in our lot, which was so fortunate by virtue of that treaty, seems imminent.

"At this critical moment the Luxemburg Patriotic Committee hope that an appeal signed by a large majority of inhabitants of Luxemburg, placing before his Majesty our Grand Duke the condition of our wishes, and laid at the feet of the throne, may avert the danger."

When the English Government took up the matter, Thionville and Metz were in the hands of Prussia. It was only the moral question that had to be weighed; it was suggested that the King Grand Duke have an investigation and the individual officers of the Luxemburg Government be held responsible and "every possible satisfaction be given to the Prussian Government."

On December 14th, Servais wrote a long despatch to Bismarck declaring that France, too, had had reason to feel that Germans were aided

in the Grand Duchy and had raised serious charges. He was "conscious of having endeavoured to fulfil loyally the obligation imposed on the Grand Duchy by the treaty of May 11th, while as many German as French soldiers had crossed the frontiers." Infringements from both belligerents had been about the same. The population had indeed not been friendly to the Prussian troops but that was a personal matter. Wherever the government was involved, the action had been unbiassed and the *comité de secours* had been most generous to German wounded. The revictualling of Thionville was the one substantial point in the charge, but, all things considered, Servais did not think that his government could be considered responsible.

"Finally I think it my duty to observe to your Excellency that the determination you have expressed to me does not appear to be consistent with the treaty of May 11, 1867. The terms of that treaty insure the neutrality of the Grand Duchy under the guarantee of the contracting Powers amongst whom is the North German Confederation. Such a stipulation would have no force if each one of the Powers who had adhered to it could cease to recognize the neutrality and then take separate action as if a State were concerned whose position had not been regulated by an International Convention. The necessity that an agreement should take place as regards any

action that would alter the conditions of the existence of the Grand Duchy consequently appears to me evident. I must make my reservations on this point clear."

On December 21st, the Luxemburg Chamber of Deputies passed resolutions denying Bismarck's charges and declaring that they desired the strictest observance of the duties of neutrality. Meantime, 44,869 citizens over twenty-four years of age signed the petition to the King Grand Duke. This, together with the Minister's statement and the deputies' resolution gave a pretty large majority to the expression of opinion in the Grand Duchy that they had preserved neutrality and that they wanted to remain what they were.

On January 6th Bismarck wrote a very curt letter to Servais. He asserted that the self-confessed inability of the Luxemburg Government to prevent injury to the German Army justified Prussia in taking her own measures, but, finally, the Chancellor bade Bernstorff answer Lord Granville that he did not mean to ignore the treaty of 1867. He simply intended to defend himself against violations of neutrality.

That ended the diplomatic episode but the *Compagnie de l'Est* had undoubtedly injured Prussia. Compensation was due and for Germany that was a fairly simple matter. By midsummer 1870-71, nearly the whole system of that company was in German hands. The Luxemburg Govern-

ment was willing to sue the company for damages to grand ducal reputation, but, naturally, under the circumstances the suit did not progress rapidly and on January 26, 1871, a Prussian functionary made a formal demand upon the Grand Duchy for an indemnity of 7,500,000 francs,—a prodigious sum for the 200,000 inhabitants of the neutral Grand Duchy,—with the alternative of handing over to Prussian disposition the complete system *Guillaume Luxemburg*. It was important to plan for connection with the Alsace-Lorraine system, and Prussia was not inclined to count it safe to accept any other arrangement such as a Luxemburg stock company with the exploitation under grand ducal control, even though German stockholders should be in the majority.

“I am convinced,” said M. Delbrück, “that, in fact, the best guarantees would be illusory, *et que les stipulations qu'on arrêterait ne seraient qu'un chiffon de papier sans valeur.*”

Then what happened? Neither the *Compagnie de l'Est* nor Luxemburg was represented at Frankfurt when the Franco-Prussian Treaty was signed, but the German Government—for it must be remembered that the Empire created at Versailles was, by mid-summer 1870–71, empowered to replace the word *Prussia* by *Germany*,—a great advance in dignity!—succeeded in having an article incorporated in the document which declared that,

considering the condition of the previous compacts between the Luxemburg railways, the grand ducal government and the *Compagnie de l'Est*, the German Government was ready to assume all the rights and duties possessed by the French corporation.

This benevolent readiness to take over a burden carried the day. Conquered France gave an assent to such assumption conditional on the consent of the *Compagnie de l'Est* and the Grand Duchy. The negotiations dragged on. It was a year before Luxemburg yielded to pressure. And it was severe pressure. M. Delbrück threatened, in case of refusal of the grand ducal government to break off postal and telegraphic relations with Germany, to oblige the *Compagnie de l'Est* to withdraw its railway material and to break the Customs Union. He simply forced the cards. On the morrow of this warning Germany had the railways. There were a few more *chiffons de papier* exchanged. Servais had tried to induce Belgium to take over the franchise of the *Compagnie de l'Est* but Belgium feared to jeopardize her own neutrality and held back.

Servais set his signature to the act of transfer of the railways with a heavy heart. He knew that it was another step towards loss of independence, in spite of the protecting provisions incorporated in the treaty of June 11, 1872.

"The German Government pledges itself never

to use the Luxemburg railways for the transport of troops, arms, material of war, and munitions, and never to avail themselves of them, during a war in which Germany may be involved, for the provisioning of troops, in any way incompatible with the neutrality of the Grand Duchy and, in general, not to admit nor to permit to be admitted any act in connection with the exploitation of the lines which is not in perfect accord with the duties incumbent on the Duchy as a neutral State."

According to pan-German phraseology, Prussia thus became the trustee of the inviolability of the neutrality of Luxemburg.

For a time the railway question absorbed all the time of the grand ducal government. Servais did not leave the city, even to visit his family, from July, 1870, until after the conclusion of the treaty of June 11, 1872—so occupied was he with the affairs of the moment. Two years later when certain further questions involving the local railways were settled, the President resigned his office, fairly content with public affairs as he left them. Instead of a deficit there was a reserve of 6,000,000 francs in the treasury, and on the whole the little State was in a prosperous condition after seven years of independence.

Although no longer President of the government, Servais continued to be president of the Council of State and to fulfil divers civil and honorary duties. Later he became burgomaster of the

city of Luxemburg and apparently fulfilled the humbler as well as he had the greater charge, for he held the office to his death in 1891. There was occupation enough, as the transformation from the fortified to the open city was long in progress. Servais found a great difference from the conditions of 1843-48 when he had served as member of the common council. Then the good burghers would have protested against the imposition of extra taxes. They expected the receipts from the public forests to cover all outlay. How modest was the scale of expenditure is shown by the fact that the private subscriptions for a statue to Princess Henry fell short by 6000 francs (\$1200.00) and caused considerable consternation; the bills were paid, however, and the statue was dedicated with an address from Servais himself, although the King Grand Duke was cross about the whole matter, as he thought too much honour was given to a foreigner. When the second Princess Henry arrived in the capital it was again Servais's duty to make the address of welcome. She was surprised at her cordial reception, as she had been warned that Luxemburgers were very hostile to Prussians and did not hesitate to show their dislike.

Servais's activities were well worthy of his life-long interest in the little State, at whose independence he had protested, yet which he had served faithfully after trying as councillor

and as journalist to keep it Belgian. During sixty years of grand ducal autonomy he assisted at the deliberations over four constitutions—the provisional of 1842, the liberal of 1848, the autocratic of 1856, and the present-day democratic articles of 1868, having been signatory to two of them.

He took part in the treaties made with foreign powers, as plenipotentiary to that of 1867 which “assured an independence and an autonomy,” and, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, to that of 1872 which ended the difficulties with Germany. He had had to do with the five successive treaties relative to the Zollverein, and had aided in the regulation of the difficulties between the Netherlands and the Grand Duchy. In all the railway concessions too, he had had a voice. Besides this he had never laid aside the pen he had learned to wield as a journalist and was ready in his explanations to the public or to foreign courts. There are many articles by him on finance, law, education, agriculture, etc.

Servais had entered into Luxemburg public affairs ten years before Prince Henry of the Netherlands became governor, and the statesman was destined to survive the prince by almost as many years. The year 1879 proved fatal to two members of the Nassau family, the Prince of Orange, heir to William III., dying in Paris and Prince Henry,—twenty-nine years governor of

Luxemburg—in the Grand Duchy. Neither left any heir. The former was no great loss to the world. He cared little for his father's people in either the kingdom or the Grand Duchy. Most of his life he had passed in Paris as a mere *boulevardier*. His years numbered only thirty-eight, but he was prematurely old and overwhelmed with debts. His uncle, on the other hand, was of very different type,—rather melancholy but upright, and really devoted to the principality where he had ruled conscientiously, aided by native officials like Servais for nearly three decades.⁷

King William's second son Alexander became Prince of Orange and heir to his father. He was in fragile health, however. His journey to Paris to bring back his brother's body was almost his last appearance in public, although his own death did not occur until June 21, 1884. Then the four-year-old Princess Wilhelmina, child of William III. and his second wife Emma of Pyrmont Waldeck, was left as sole heir to her father's Netherland kingdom, but not to the Grand Duchy from which she was debarred by the Nassau Pact of 1783, which recognized the Salic Law.

In 1890 when Servais's death closed nearly sixty years of service to Luxemburg, the old King Grand Duke, too, ended his long reign of forty-one years, and the Grand Duchy passed to the

next heir male, Duke Adolph—a member of the Walramian branch of the Nassau family. After many centuries, Luxemburg had a sovereign without political ties beyond her frontier.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW DYNASTY

ADOLPH of Nassau-Weilburg was quite ready to accept the grand ducal portion of his cousin's patrimony. Moreover, he found a singularly smooth course open to his goal. In Prussia there was hospitality to the idea and willingness to permit this defeated foe to rehabilitate his fortunes. It was another opportunity to display a little inexpensive friendship. The duke had been a landless prince ever since he had abandoned his capital, Wiesbaden, to the victorious Prussians on July 18, 1866, suffering defeat with his Austrian allies. In September, Prussia's title to retain Nassau as a permanent accession of territory had been recognized by treaty and the deposed ruler had then settled at Vienna,—an ex-sovereign in exile,—where his private fortune enabled him to live sumptuously as a simple nobleman. When his cousins of Nassau died without issue, he began to be interested in the future of such family estates as were affected by the Salic Law. At first he confronted some serious doubt in Prussian minds

as to whether his own potential rights of inheritance had not lapsed to the victor of 1866 together with his conquered duchy. But it did not suit Bismarck to espouse that theory or to put forth territorial pretensions. "A beaten enemy is no longer an enemy for us," is a statement attributed to Kaiser William II. on June 17, 1918. If correctly quoted he was echoing Bismarck. In his devotion to the ideal of a united Germany, the Chancellor was ready to welcome back all sheep that had strayed out of the fold in Austria's trail. He was fully aware that in Luxemburg there was the Belgiophile movement and that M. Blochhausen, President of the Government, was counting on a reunion to Belgium as the sole chance of escape from Prussia. Now, even if Bismarck had really been willing to permit such reunion to come to pass in 1867, he was of a different mind fourteen years later. Moreover, the chance of turning a German opponent into a German friend was not to be neglected. There was no wavering in the steady progress towards the goal that had been set.¹

Adolph of Nassau was an old man to enter upon a new heritage. Born in 1817, he was in his sixty-eighth year at the death of the last Prince of Orange, and he had grown accustomed to his leisurely life in the Austrian capital without thought of again having administrative responsibility. Moreover, he never tried to conceal his bitter-

ness against Prussia, from whom he did not expect to ask favours, until the new prospect opened up, when it looked as though a reconciliation with the Hohenzollerns might be useful in re-establishing the prestige of the family. In 1885, he negotiated a marriage between his daughter and the hereditary Grand Duke of Baden, grandson of Kaiser William I. Three years later, an interview took place between the loser of Nassau and its then sovereign. Ex-Duke and young Kaiser William II. met on the island of Mainau in Lake Constance on September 29, 1888. The fact was known and, naturally, the press of Europe was busied with conjectures as to the reason for this confidential conversation. Nor did it need divination to surmise that Luxemburg was the topic discussed. Some journalists intimated that the Kaiser suggested the entrance of the Grand Duchy into the empire in return for Prussian acknowledgment of the rights of the dispossessed Nassaus to acquire a fresh inheritance. If demanded, the point was yielded. The Grand Duchy remained aloof from the empire on the independent, neutralized basis accorded to it in 1867, but Duke Adolph was left free to make his own claims. On April 6, 1889, when a regency became necessary in Holland on account of the illness of the King Grand Duke, Adolph advised M. Eyschen, then President of the Government in Luxemburg, that he was ready to take the oath of

a similar regency in behalf of the Grand Duchy, in accordance with the seventh and eighth articles of the constitution. Four days later, the prince arrived in Luxemburg. Naturally a curious crowd gathered at the station to see this unknown, unbidden ruler arrive in their midst. When they caught sight of his figure, clad in a Prussian uniform, topped by the unmistakable Prussian helmet, shouts burst forth, but they were cries of "*Vive la France!*" together with the song that had become national. The original refrain, "We will remain just what we are," was replaced by the words "Prussian we will never be!" It was a popular demonstration with unequivocal meaning.

The first regency was only necessary for three weeks, but the invalid's improvement was not of long duration. A second regency, begun in 1889, was terminated on November 23, 1890, by the death of William III., whose dignities were then permanently divided between his cousin of seventy-three and his daughter of ten. Adolph took the full grand ducal oath at once in his own behalf and Queen Emma continued her regency, in the name of Wilhelmina, Queen of Holland, but not Grand Duchess by virtue of the family pact of 1783, although that did not then include Luxemburg.

The Luxemburg Chamber proved more docile to the new sovereign than was popular opinion. They sanctioned his personal assumption of certain

property of his cousin that would, according to the civil code, have lapsed to the state, and did not prevent his appointment of Germans to posts hitherto filled by French or Belgians, if not by Luxemburgers. German became, in the main, the household language of the little court, and there were various manifestations of sympathy with the empire that were not at all in accordance with Luxemburg sentiment, either traditional or actual. For example, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Franco-Prussian War was celebrated by a banquet offered by the Grand Duke to the Teutonic veterans at his castle of Hohenburg where toasts were offered to the extermination of the hereditary foe.

In 1893, Adolph's son, another William of Nassau, married Marie Anne of Portugal. Some efforts were made to provide for the Protestant education of the children of the marriage, but they failed, and the eldest daughter was brought up a Catholic, as were five sisters who followed her into the world, each, it may be surmised, a disappointing substitute for the hoped-for son as heir to the Nassau name and traditions. Queen Wilhelmina was the last of the Orange-Nassau line. Like her, her six cousins may bear children to other dynasties, although the mother's name will not be abandoned in the eldest branch.

Material bonds with Germany have been drawn closer. The contracts made for the railways in

1872 were to run until 1913, but in 1902 they were extended to 1959, possibly because it was thought better to settle matters during the lifetime of the old Grand Duke who was under obligations to Prussia for not opposing his accession.

Adolph, tenacious of life, survived his cousin by fifteen years, not dying until November 17, 1905, at the age of eighty-eight. During the last three years of his life his son was associated with him in the government. But that son had no son and he did not look forward to a long life. The contingency provided for in 1783 had arrived. In 1907 the Grand Duke obtained the consent of the Chamber of Deputies to accept that family pact and to recognize his daughter, Marie Adelaide, as his successor. The way was not entirely open. The girl's rights were contested by a Count of Merenberg, morganatic son of Prince Nicolas of Nassau, and husband of a morganatic daughter of Czar Alexander II., but the Luxemburg Chamber refused to acknowledge his claims. In Wiesbaden, however, the Nassau courts gave him hearing and advised a compromise (January 6, 1909) recommending Marie Adelaide to buy off her adversary with a million marks and to permit him to be styled Prince of Nassau. The offer was refused. But later, January 19, 1909, for some reason, a greater imposition was accepted and the House of Luxemburg consented to pay the claimant an annuity of 50,000 francs from the year 1905—presumably

from the trust fund of the Nassaus. It has been charged, and unjustly, that the public treasury was called upon for part of this payment. But at the best, there was dissatisfaction that a decision of a Luxemburg court should be set aside for that of Wiesbaden. At the time of the suit the Grand Duke was already an invalid and unable to discharge his duties. His wife acted as regent for three years before and after his death on February 25, 1812, until his daughter's majority on July 18th of that year. Born on June 14, 1892, Marie then attained the majority required by the constitution. She is addressed as "Your Royal Highness," and her titles are, in addition to that of Luxemburg, "Duchess of Nassau" and "Countess Palatine of the Rhine."

"Let us count it a happy augury for the future of the land that the Grand Duchess, Marie Adelaide, is the first of our sovereigns born on grand ducal soil, the first to be brought up here. From her infancy she has breathed her native air and has learned to recognize the ideals, the aspirations, and the traditions of the people over whom she is called to rule. Today, for the first time since November 29, 1780, we salute a princess on the throne. One cannot help evoking, at this hour, the grand figure of the Grand Duchess's predecessor, the Empress Maria Theresa, whose reign was so happy for this country and who is known in history less for her achievements in war than in peace and



Photo from International Film Service
THE GRAND DUCHESS OF LUXEMBURG WITH HER SISTERS.

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for the impetus she gave to the diffusion of education and to the development of agriculture, of commerce, and of industry. May Her Royal Highness, the Grand Duchess, reap (*recueille*), together with the chivalrous traditions of her own ancestors, the virile instruction of an illustrious woman who proved that a sceptre does not lose its prestige in feminine hands when it is wielded with firmness, wisdom, and clear sightedness.

“Under the protection of a distinguished mother who has proven her devotion to this land, Her Royal Highness, the Grand Duchess, Marie Adelaide, will be able as constitutional sovereign to guard the maintenance of our independence, of our institutions.”

Such were the concluding paragraphs of the discourse delivered by M. Eyschen at the session of the Luxemburg Chamber on February 27, 1912, when he formally announced the death of one and the accession of another ruler, recognized while under her mother's regency. A few months later, (July 18th), Marie Adelaide took the oath as sovereign regnant. In the presence of the deputies, the eighteen-year-old maiden, moved by deep emotion, pronounced her first speech from the grand ducal throne. After thanking the assembly for their recognition of the family misfortune, she continued:

“Today I am sensible of a double misfortune in not having been initiated by my father into public affairs. Guided by your deliberations, I

hope, nevertheless, to prove worthy of the grave duties that have devolved upon me. My first obligation is to conform to the fifth article of the Fundamental Law.

“I swear to observe the constitution and laws of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and to maintain national independence and territorial integrity as well as public and private liberty and the rights of each and all of my subjects and to employ for the conservation and the increase of prosperity, public and private, as is the duty of a good sovereign, all the means the law allows. I swear it, so help me God.

“It would be rash for me to attempt to outline, today, a program of my reign. I will confine myself, Gentlemen, to telling you my aspirations and my hopes.

“I am ambitious to deserve the title of a good sovereign in accordance with the oath I have just taken; I promise to interest myself in all, to be fair, easy of access, ready to give aid. To endeavour to realize, within our practical limits, the Beautiful, the True, and the Good—is not that goal a fitting crown jewel?

“On the grand ducal palace at Luxemburg, there is a bas-relief of John the Blind with his device *Ich dien*. On the same wall are engraved the features of Henry VII., John’s father, with his favourite legend: *Judicate juste*, Judge justly. Zeal to render decisions in conformity with the rules of

Justice and of Equity shall inspire all my acts. Law and public weal alone shall be my guides. To judge justly—is not Justice equal for all and is not Justice the guardian of the weak? Economic inequality among mankind is the grave preoccupation of our epoch. Up to now, social peace, so ardently desired, has been but a fleeting ideal. Can there not be a *rapprochement*, can we not attain a solidarity? Is not the Just so deeply anchored in all hearts that an appeal is in order? And can we not hope that here, too, the action, slow but sure, of the eternal laws of justice will achieve a reconciliation?

“To reign for and with the people was my father’s aim. He used to say: ‘It must be hand and hand with the public that we attack the serious problems of the future.’ This is the heavy charge I assume with my paternal heritage. Your enlightened patriotism, Gentlemen representatives, will aid me in doing it honour. And Heaven must bless my efforts.”

Again expressing her gratitude towards all who had offered sympathy in her bereavement, the speaker continued: “International treaties guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of the Grand Duchy are the true source of our prosperity, but they also impose on us an obligation towards Europe. Our force lies in the Right. Right and Duty are brothers. Let us fulfil our duty exactly. Let us act so that no suspicion can be cast on the

rectitude of our intentions. I love my country. I am proud and happy to wear its name and its crown. I desire no other joy than to serve it and, in co-operation with you, to assure its prosperity. To the hand of a young girl the guardianship of the flag is entrusted. I will hold it upright and, with the aid of God, I will fight for its honour.

“Daughter of the Nassaus, I, like my forbears, will be faithful to the noble device of our ancient House, *Je maintiendrai*.”

It was a graceful, modest, earnest, little speech, and suitable even if M. Eyschen's hand guided the pen. No wonder that it was received with hearty applause and affectionate cries of “*Vive la Grande Duchesse !*” Three days later, a committee of six, selected by lot from the Chamber, carried to the young sovereign the deputies' assurance that the “manly declarations”—*declarations viriles*—made by the Grand Duchess when she took the constitutional oath of office, her noble aspirations, etc., awakened joyous echoes in the minds of faithful Luxemburgers. The address continued: “Here in the heart of armed Europe, the Grand Duchy blossoms like an oasis of peace under the vitalizing breath of liberty and it is to the works of peace, to justice, to social solidarity, to popular intellectual culture, to art, to benevolence, that Your Royal Highness will devote the ideals of her sunny youth. Yes, it is in reigning for and with the people, it is in diffusing and in strengthening within

the social body those principles of solidarity that are the honour of our times, it is in showing to some the path of devotion, to others the way of confidence that our young sovereign will succeed in winning all hearts and in tightening the bonds uniting the people to the dynasty."

Then pleasure in entrusting the national flag to the hands of their ruler was again expressed and the president's *Vive la Grande Duchesse* was re-echoed by the deputies.

Marie Adelaide celebrated her accession by granting pardon to many prisoners, while the congratulations she received from her 260,000 homestaying Luxemburgers were augmented by messages from 1500 living in Paris, who celebrated a Te-Deum in honour of the accession and the little realm was launched on a new phase. In this great impersonal world where even cities number their millions, and where the changing administrations hardly have time to busy themselves very closely about those temporarily under their charge, a pretty picture is offered in Luxemburg, where the social compact between ruler and ruled promised to be so personal, owing to the scanty number of the latter and the many years that could naturally be expected by the former for learning, and in fulfilling, the task which she assumed as a labour of love.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRESENT

SO there it was before the Great War, a veritable little oasis in armed Europe, as M. Eyschen himself said,—a miniature kingdom of the Ardennes where, after the bitter experiences suffered repeatedly in past centuries, life had become fairly comfortable. Man had learned to utilize the natural resources to better advantage, no forced military service interrupted normal occupations, and a handful of volunteers was sufficient protection to a state under European guardianship. A freedom of the Press, a freedom in religion, as guaranteed by the Constitution, prevailed, yet the country is almost completely at one in faith. There are only about 2700 Protestants and a small number of Hebrews. Still the unity is not as perfect as these figures imply. A clerical and an anti-clerical party exist. In the population of 260,000 there are now about 20,000 Germans, 10,000 Italians, 3,000 Belgians, 2,000 French, 1,000 Austrians (1910). Since 1914, the industrial canton of Esch has had an

increase of population, owing to the great output, destined, more or less directly, for the German army.¹

In the farming region there is a large proportion of peasant proprietors whose prosperous farms are mainly in the Gutland, wheat, grapes, and fruit growing in fair abundance. Elsewhere, too, many families have gardens and houses of their own, if not farms. The rougher region has its compensation for more meagre fertility in its share of minerals, now fully appreciated. Oil and iron are as alluring as the gold of the Nibelungen was to Huns and Teutons alike in legendary times and with more reason as there is more to be attained through their means than there ever was with glittering treasure. Important ironworks and forges at Esch on the Alzette and half a score of other places are holdings coveted by those who make war. The annual output is 950,000 tons of cast iron and 300,000 tons of steels. Large tanneries and factories for cloth, linen, and pottery make Wiltz, Clervaux, Echternach, Mersch, etc., important industrial centres. An increasing class of rich manufacturers has replaced the old military aristocracy whose sometime dominance in the land is recorded in the ruined castles crowning the charming hills. There is Vianden, for instance, which added a title to the long list of the Orange-Nassaus, centuries before a grand ducal dignity in Luxemburg was dreamed of. The founder of the Dutch

Republic was Count of Vianden as well as of Nassau and thus really had a foothold in the old duchy where his descendants had more. In the capital there are only a few remnants of the castle on the site where Melusine conjured Sigefroy's abode into existence. The present grand ducal palace is a sixteenth-century structure, not very remarkable one way or the other. Count Mansfeld built himself a much finer residence during his long administration as governor for Philip II. That was in the suburb of Clausen and nothing is left of its past magnificence.

While comparatively little remains of mediæval times, the relics of Roman occupation abound on every side. Coins are turned up by the plough even now. Belgian Luxemburg is even richer in classic remains than is grand ducal territory. All along the ancient Roman roads there are fragments betraying the sites of camps and in addition to broken bits of a past civilization monuments more or less well preserved are to be seen in the museums. Ever since 1842, when the Grand Duchy settled into her autonomous phase, her statesmen have been wont to vary their public occupations by studying local archæology and the results of their researches are preserved by the grand ducal learned society.

Customs linger on as well as more tangible antiquities. Once a year at Echternach, on the Tuesday after Whitsunday, a strange procession




VIANDEN CASTLE.

Redrawn from an old print.



has continued to take place in the twentieth century as it did during ages past until Joseph II. discouraged the practice and the French Revolutionary government forced its complete abandonment. After 1830, the celebration was revived and nobody said "nay." A long procession goes swaying down the Echternach street ostensibly to commemorate one Saint Guy's recovery at the magic touch of Saint Wilibrord. As the delighted patient danced for joy so do the pilgrims. Possibly, though, they only celebrate, unconsciously, some pagan event of far earlier date. But the zeal to celebrate something that once happened at Echternach and the hope of similar cures bring faithful votaries thither once a year. In 1880 there were some ten thousand, in 1895, 17,075 persons tripping gaily along, pilgrims from long distances, from Germany and Belgium as well as from the two Luxemburgs to sing "*Sancte Willibrord, stella lucida patriæ nostræ, ora pro nobis*" and the Latin words roll out with many different accents, but comprehensible to all. Before 1906, the bones of the saint lay in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, only reached by a long flight of steps. Then they were removed to a more accessible edifice. The procession starts from the bridge over the Sure, three quarters of a mile from the church, but it takes five or six hours for all to pass before the altar and deposit an offering for the cure of a malady either of the pilgrim or of a member of his



family, if the invalid is quite beyond dancing in his own behalf. In 1912 it is claimed that 22 banner carriers, 119 priests, 357 musicians, 3913 singers, 3402 praying pilgrims, and 12,163 dancers took part in the procession. Many of these "dancers" could barely hobble along but the hope of returning in better case held up their failing limbs. Since 1915, there may have been a change.

Echternach is just on the edge of the Eisling, the so-called Luxemburg Switzerland. Between the city and the Belgian frontier is the wildest part of the Grand Duchy. It is a strange region. The soil is literally strewn with enormous blocks in fantastic forms. There are strange caves and deep ravines. Beyond it begins the fertile district.

Like the coins that continue to come to the surface as evidence of the Romans, many names have held their own as evidence of them and also of Teutonic, Hunnish, and other invaders. Ettelbrück is said to be Attila's Bridge. Hunsrück, Hunsdorf, etc., bear traces of other visitors.

In spite of the usage at Court, French continues to remain the official language, a certain number of imported workers speak Polish and Italian and the native peasants keep their dialect in which they express their distaste of things Prussian in more forms than in the refrain of their song, "Prussian will we never be." *Das Luxemburger Wort* (Catholic) and *Die Luxemburger Zeitung* (Liberal) are published in German, *L'Independence Luxem-*



ROMAN BAS-RELIEFS FOUND IN BELGIUM LUXEMBURG.

Institut (Arlon)

bourgeoise and *Le Clerfer Echo* in French. None of these can be said to enjoy journalistic freedom at the present. But abroad there are many Luxemburgers who still command channels of expression and who are still closely identified with the future of their country. There are said to be more than two thousand Luxemburgers in the French and Belgian armies as volunteers. There are some, too, in German camps who did not offer their services but were obliged to give them as they chanced to be living in Germany when the war broke out.

These last have no organ of their own. The others have. There is a small group in Geneva, Switzerland, who publish a little journal, *LeLuxembourg Libre* to keep alive the idea of national independence. They demand a rupture of relations with the Zollverein. They wish economic relations with Belgium but annexation to no other government. Above all, they are anxious that nothing shall be done in their behalf without their cognizance. They clamor for a voice in their own affairs.

Another group of Luxemburgers in Paris publish *Le Luxembourgeois Bulletin*, a bi-monthly for the Luxemburg volunteers in the French Army. Its spirit is francophile. A more important periodical, as representing a greater number, is that of the Luxemburgers in the Belgian Army. This is a monthly edited by Dr. Arendt, called *Le Bulletin des Luxembourgeois de l'armée Belge*. The first

number appeared in April, 1917, and it has been issued regularly on the tenth of each month since. Annexation to Belgium is openly urged. The whole story of Luxemburg's past has been rehearsed in its columns and the reasons for this natural re-uniting of the severed duchy reiterated. Their cause has been further espoused by the organ of the Belgian province, *Le Luxembourgeois Bulletin du cercle des amis de Luxembourg*. These Luxemburgers declare that the old rent must be mended. They hold out their hands to their grand ducal brothers. And that does seem a rational solution of the problem, charming as is the picture of a little independent principality, standing aloof from the great conflicts of big nations,—a non-militant peaceful spot in Europe. But its aloofness has proven difficult. The revival of all these expressions of a Luxemburg spirit show that there is a personality, an individuality in this ancient territory which deserves the preservation it demands. Something has been done of late. A few diplomatic agents have been recognized abroad, at The Hague, at Berne and at Paris. It is to be hoped that when the great settlement is made, they will be aided, if not to remain just what they are, at least to keep true to their second refrain and not to become Prussian.

Since the outbreak of war, the government has been reconstructed like many another, but here the cabinet change was inevitable. M. Eyschen who

made his protests in August, 1914, did not live to see the increasing domination of his country by the visitors who were to pass through so innocently. He died on October 4, 1915. For more than twenty-six years he had held the reins of government as chief minister under four sovereigns. It was not easy for the Grand Duchess to fill his place. Several invitations to form a coalition cabinet from clerical, anti-clerical, and socialist elements were refused. Finally M. Thorn, ex-attorney-general accepted the charge. He was a declared anti-clerical, but his open intimacy with Colonel Tessmar, commander of the German troops, was injurious to his popularity and finally brought about his resignation in April, 1916, although the question of supplies was the ostensible cause. According to reports, supplies were, however, a burning question. Seven hams were sold for 2025 francs, and twelve bread and meat cards became obligatory to obtain anything. All products are ticketed, labelled, and checked. Life had grown very difficult. Eligible men were timid about undertaking responsibility under the circumstances. At last, M. Kaufman, director of finance, accepted the presidency and a new coalition cabinet came into being at his call in the early summer of 1917. There was especial reluctance on the part of anti-Germans to take office as they doubted their capacity to act freely or effectively under the uncertain conditions. There were, to be sure, fewer troops on their soil,

but German pressure was felt. The Red Cross had been very active during the first year of the war caring for allied and Teuton wounded alike, but later they have been carried on to Germany, prisoners and Germans together, and these hospitals were left idle. Neutral care for the former was distrusted.

Some pecuniary settlement has been made for damage inflicted, but it falls short of the losses, and the pressure of the iron hand at telephone and telegraph, forbidding every non-German word, is symbolic of Luxemburg existence.

Thus in economic relations, in facility of transportation and communication, Luxemburg is bound hand and foot. It remains to be seen whether a National Spirit will burst the bonds. The next chapter of the story is still unwritten.

NOTES

Figures indicate reference numbers on pages. For full titles see bibliography.

PROLOGUE

1. "*Comment s'est faite l'invasion du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg,*" *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1, 1915.

The words "regrettable incident," grown familiar in the course of this war of 1914, were used long ago, in regard to an occurrence happening not far from Luxemburg. In 55 B.C., when Julius Cæsar was on the banks of the Meuse, the Germans had concluded an armistice with the Romans and the envoys had just departed when, suddenly, eight hundred Germans fell upon the Roman brigade. "After this there was no further reception of ambassadors or talk of terms. Those who could practice such base deception as first to talk of peace and then openly commence war had certainly put themselves outside the pale of negotiations. . . . Early on the morrow there appeared in the Roman lines a crowded deputation from the Germans, embracing every one of their chiefs and elder men, once more bent on trying their favourite arts of duplicity and cunning. They had come in the first place to apologise, as they put it, for *the regrettable incident* of the day before."—*Commentaries*, iv., 13. Long's Oxford translation, 1911.

2. *Extrait des séances des 3 Août, 10 and 13, November, 1914.* Luxemburg, 1914.
French *Yellow Book*. Eng. translation (authorized), London, 1914.
3. *With the German Army in the West.* By Sven Hedin. Eng. translation, London, 1914, p. 44 *et seq.*
4. *United States Official Bulletin*, May, 1917.
5. Sea-shells have been found in the city of Luxemburg.

CHAPTER I

THE RULERS

The summary of eight centuries of the story of Luxemburg is too condensed to permit of detailed references. It is in the main drawn from *Table chronologique des chartes et diplomes relatifs à l'histoire de l'ancien pays-duché de Luxemburg et comté de Chiny*, by Fr. X. Würth-Paquet; printed by the Société Archéologique, Institut royal grand-ducal, section historique,—this *Table* is referred to as Institut, vol. xiv., vol. xv., etc.—; Bertholet's *Histoire du duché de Luxemburg*; Lefort's *La maison souveraine de Luxemburg*; Schötter's *Geschichte des Luxemburger Landes*; and many studies on particular phases by Würth-Paquet, Verweke, and other Luxemburg writers scattered through the publications of the above mentioned Société Archéologique of Luxemburg, published annually, 1845-1918. General and particular works on European and Netherland history have also served to an extent too large to be cited in condensed narrative. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, and Stubbs, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, are referred to generally.

The lands all lay within Lotharingia and, later, within Lower Lorraine.

1. Bertholet, iii., p. 9.
2. *Cartulaire ou recueil des documents de la ville de Luxemburg*, Ed. Fr. X., Würth-Paquet. p. 1.
3. Bertholet, viii., p. 5. Institut, xxiv., p. 19.
4. Institut, xxv., p. 136, 137, etc.
5. *Ibid.*, xxviii., p. 135.
6. *Ibid.*, cf. p. 103.
7. Given by Lefort, p. 257.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
9. *Ibid.*
10. See *De seventien provincien en haar vertegenwoordiging in de Staaten-General*. Robert Fruin, *Geschriften*, ix., p. 1.

The official list of the seventeen provinces convened at the abdication of Charles V., 1555, is as follows:

1. Duchy of Brabant.
2. " " Limburg and the Land beyond the Meuse.
3. " " Luxemburg.
4. " " Guelders and County of Zutphen.
5. County of Flanders.
6. " " Artois.
7. " " Hainaut.
8. " " Holland.
9. " " Zealand.
10. " " Namur.
11. Cities and manors of Lille, Douai, and Orchies.
12. Seignory of Tournai and the Tournaisis.
13. " " Malines.
14. " " Friesland.
15. " " Utrecht.
16. " " Overysse, Drenthe, Linge, Wedde and Westwoldingerland [counted as one] (summoned but failed to appear).
17. Seignory of Groningen.

Luxemburg was included in the Union of 1577, but there was no revolutionary spirit there.

The letters of the Council of State requesting representation from Luxemburg in the assembly of 1576 brought a curious reply from Count de Manderscheit, the *chargé d'affaires*. "There is no one in this province as there is down there [in Brabant] to represent the Estates and I do not know where to send them [the letters] as the contents are unknown to me."

He adds that any communication to the Estates had to be received by the prelates, "who are very numerous," the nobles and the cities, and the call can only be issued by His Majesty or the Governor General. Even if a call were sent out, six weeks must intervene before the session, "because a great part of the nobles live outside the province and that is the reason why certain convocations were futile and without effect."

Gachard, *Les États Généraux*, 1576-1586, i., p. 29.

Soon after this correspondence the brother of Philip II., Don John, arrived at Luxemburg and made it his headquarters.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

1. See *Inventaire analytique des archives du château d'Ausebourg*. Dr. N. van Werveke. Institut, xlvii., p. 108, *et passim*.
2. See *De zeventien provincien en haar vertegenwoordiging in de Staaten-General*. Robert Fruin. *Verspreide Geschriften*, ix., p. 1.
3. See *Actes des États Généraux*, 1600. Gachard, 1 v. Bruxelles, 1849.
4. See *Actes des États-Généraux*, 1632. Gachard, 2 v. Bruxelles, 1853.
5. See *Die Luxemburger Bistumsfrage*. Dr. J. Peters.
6. See *Le duché de Luxembourg*, 1648–1659. H. J. Schötter. Institut, xxx., p. 201, *et seq.*
7. *Ibid.* Institut, xxx, pp. 242, 254.
8. *Ibid.*, xxxi., p. 326.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 334.
10. Martin, *Hist. de France*, xiii., p. 515.
11. Schötter, Institut, xxxiv., p. 301.

The etymological theory that Luxemburg was Lucis-Burgus, the city of light—of the sun—was supported by another that made Arlon Ara-lunæ, the altar of the moon.

12. See *Relations de la province de Luxembourg avec le Gouvernement général des Pays-Bas Autrichiens*, 1716–1744. J. Felsenhart, Institut, Arlon, 1886. *Annales*, xvii., p. 183.

(In 1845, an archæological society was also formed in the capital of the Belgian part of Luxemburg. The publications issued annually are referred to as Institut, Arlon.)

13. *Ibid.*

In two whole centuries, the duchy experienced but twenty-five years of peace, yet there were families who lived on, quietly enough, the even tenor of their way undisturbed by the troublous military existence about them. For instance, one J. P. Bourgeois, born in Luxemburg on August 26, 1699, grew up there, married

and reared a large family of seven sons and six daughters, keeping a diary which remains to tell the chief incidents of their career. His first wife died two years after their marriage in 1724, the second, Anne-Catherine Lamoureaux, bore the thirteen children and lived to celebrate her golden wedding. One daughter was afflicted with nervous attacks which were cured completely by the miracle-working image of the Virgin, so that she, as well as her sisters, was happily married. The father, architect by profession, filled honourable civic positions in Luxemburg, while his sons turned towards the Church, receiving portions when they took religious vows.

As only one son, Charles, married, this devotion of so many out of one family showed what the predominating influence was. The religious houses exerted immense influence and were responsible for all the benefits that came to the people of the neglected province. For instance, in 1757, a new abbot was appointed to the Abbey of Orval and on the occasion of his installation, he settled pensions upon sixty-four persons, mainly spinsters,—12,000 florins in sums varying from 70 to 400 florins. The chronicles of other religious foundations teem with similar items. Very possibly, there was some injudicious pauperization but there was kindness, too, to make up for the misery caused by the incessant fighting about interests not important to the land.

CHAPTER III

JOSEPH II.

1. The diploma was signed August 20, 1780. Its confirmation by Joseph II. was dated Jan. 12, 1781.
2. *Marie Christine, Erzherzogin von Oesterreich*, i., p. 203. Adam Wolf. (Wien, 1863.)
3. *Le comte L.C.M. de Barbiano de Belgiojoso et ses papiers d'état conservés à Milan*, par Alfred Cauchie, professeur de Louvain, p. 162. Bruxelles, 1912.
4. The details and itinerary of the visit of Joseph II. to the Netherlands has been investigated by Eugene Hubert with marvelous completeness, the result of his work having been

published in 1899, *Le voyage de l'Empereur Joseph II dans les Pays-Bas* (Acad. de Belgique, Mém. Couronnés, lvi., p. 485). Professor Hubert ransacked all archives which could possibly contain any reference to the subject. His essay is a wonderful example of minute consideration. A collection of *Pièces justificatives* adds to the value. It is from this exhaustive essay that the story is taken, except where reference is made to Gachard—*Études* or *Documents*.

5. See Gachard, *Études et notices historiques*, iii., p. 338.
6. *Le voyage*, etc., p. 57.
7. See Cauchie, p. 176 *et passim*.
8. See Dewez, *Hist. gén. de la Belgique*, vii., p. 189.
9. Quoted by Cauchie, p. 211, p. 252 *et passim*.
10. Juste, *Joseph II.*, p. 37.
11. See Schlitter, *Die Geheime Correspondenz Josefs II mit Trauttmansdorff*, for letters printed chronologically.
12. Reproduced by Camille Desmoulins. *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, ii., p. 49.
 Eighty-six numbers of this periodical were issued at Paris, from November, 1789, to July, 1791. The name shows the editor's conviction that the movements were allied.
13. The story of the union of the provinces and their assumption of independent political action is an interesting episode in Revolutionary history. The journal of the States-General, Jan. 5th–March 12th, and Sept. 9th–Nov. 19th, 1790, and the journal of the Congress, Mar. 3rd–Mar. 11th, as well as the first draft of the terms *des deux chiffons*, and the letters of both bodies, and some other documents are given by M. Gachard in *Documents politiques et diplomatiques sur la Révolution Belge de 1790*, Bruxelles, 1834. The nine provinces followed much the same course of deposing a sovereign and assuming responsibility as their northern brethren had, more than two centuries previously, even while phrases used in the late events in America echoed through the Declaration of Independence. The comments on the proceedings as given by Camille Desmoulins, Nos. 1–55, in the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* are very illuminating.
14. *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, No. 2.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVOLUTION WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES OF BELGIUM

1. The word Belgic is used to prevent confusion between this confederation and the state that finally became Belgium. The provinces were still a congeries of units at this date.
2. *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, No. 3.

The optimistic Desmoulins was, at this time, full of hope for a democratic Europe. "On dit que le Portugal sort de son sommeil sur les droits de l'homme. Il y a aussi des mouvements à Madrid. On demande les Cortès. L'insurrection a déjà éclaté dans la Catalogne. Je l'avois bien prédit dans la France libre. La philosophie & l'esprit de liberté ne sauroient manquer de franchir & les Alpes & les mers; & je ne désepère pas de voir la cocarde au Saint-Pere, au Grand Turc, au roi de Prusse, à la Czarine, & même à Joseph II.

"Une ordonnance des princes, co-directeurs du Bas-Rhin & de Westphalie, portant défense d'attrouper de prendre des cocardes & de parler politique, prouve que l'horizon philosophique s'agrandit de ce côté-la, & que la raison a passé le Rhin.

"Bien plus, des lettres assurent qu'il a paru des patriotes sur les montagnes de Savoie, qu'on a parlé de constitution dans un café à Turin, & que quelques-uns de nos Savoyards, qui se sont retirés dans leur pays depuis l'insurrection des domestiques contre eux y ont rapporté avec leurs sellettes, le flambeau de la philosophie."

3. *Ibid.*, No. 4.
4. Séance de mercredi, 17 Mars, *Le Moniteur*, 1790.
5. *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, No. 18.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Le Vrai Brabançon*, No. 6, Aug. 20.
8. Gachard, *Documens*, p. 417.

9. Vander Noot returned to Belgium in 1797, and did not die until 1827. Vonck died in 1792.
10. *Rév. de France et de Brabant*, No. 55.
The journalist survived his journal for three years only. He was guillotined in April, 1794, at the same time as Danton, being then thirty-three years old.
11. Philip Johan the younger Count von Cobenzl came to the Netherlands especially empowered by Joseph II. to adopt conciliating measures.
12. See *L'Assemblée des états de Luxembourg*, 1791. Institut (Arlon), xxx., p. 85.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Quoted by Wolf, ii., p. 103.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
16. Christine to Princess Lichtenstein. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
17. *Le Moniteur (Gazette Nationale)*, April 21, 1792.
18. The discussions are given in full in *Le Moniteur*. The session was that of Friday, April 20, 1792.
19. *Aus meinem Leben*, iii., p. 166.
20. Written from Bonn, Nov. 18th. Wolf, ii., p. 142.
21. See *Le Moniteur*, No. 315, Sat., Nov. 10, *et passim*.
22. *Ibid.* November and December, 1792, January, 1793, *et passim*. Especially No. 347.
23. *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1793.
Desmoulins said that the clergy influenced the people by declaring that anything was better than French revolutionary ideas. Their sentiment was "Plutôt le despotisme, d'Alton, Trauttsmandorff & Joseph II. que la philosophie des Mirabeau, des Barnaves & des Robespierre (ce sont les propres mots d'une lettre insérée dans le journal de Luxembourg)." Reaction had set in. The journalist said contemptuously, "Les états unis de Belgique ont arrêté leur constitution féodale." Such was the report from Brussels, January 20, 1790.
24. *Le Moniteur*, Dec. 18, 1792. Report of session of Dec. 15th.
25. The question of reunion was, indeed, voted upon in various Belgian cities during February, 1793, but the result could

not be considered as a fair plebiscite, although rated as such in the convention.

26. *Ibid.*, No. 305, July 23, 1794.

CHAPTER V

THE CONQUEST OF LUXEMBURG

1. This part of the story is taken partly from *Hist. du Département des Forêts* par Alfred Lefort (Le duché de Luxembourg de 1775 à 1814), Institut l. 1905, and partly from *Le Moniteur*, 1794-1796.
2. Quoted by Lefort, p. 14.
3. These words were handed down by tradition to M. de la Fontaine. See Lefort, p. 18.
4. Quoted by Lefort, p. 82. Original is in the Luxemburg archives.
5. Quoted from Albert's diary by Wolf, ii., p. 161.
6. Lefort, p. 30.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
9. It was presented to the Convention on March 8, 1795, among other petitions. See Lefort, p. 43.
10. Before leaving, the men took an oath not to bear arms against the Republic. They were to be sent to the right bank of the Rhine but the home troops took matters into their own hands and stayed on the left. It was declared that the city would be worth an army of 60,000. Lefort, pp. 81, 82.
11. Quoted by Lefort, p. 86.
12. *Ibid.*
13. The speeches are given in full in *Le Moniteur*, 2 vendémiaire, an IV. (October, 1795.)
14. Articles given in full as demanded and as conceded. Lefort, p. 73.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
19. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

THE DEPARTMENT OF FORESTS *malgré lui*

1. Lefort, p. 162.

A section of Luxemburg was included in the Department of Ourthe, and a small area was added to that of the Sambre-et-Meuse.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 251, 303.
4. Letter of June 14th (26 prairial, an IV.) to the Dramatic Company at Metz.
5. Lefort, pp. 301-303.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

CHAPTER VII

NAPOLEON AND LUXEMBURG

1. Legier's report, April 10, 1798.
2. See *In Further Ardenne*, by T. H. Passmore, New York, 1905, p. 176.
3. Quoted in *La domination Française en Belgique*, Jules Delhaize, iv., p. 40.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
6. See *ibid.*, p. 184 *et seq.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 153, *et seq.*; *Cambridge Modern History*, ix., ch. vii., etc.
10. Delhaize, iv., p. 212.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 248, *et seq.*
12. *Mémoires de Mme. de Rémusat*, 3 v., Paris, 1893, i., p. 24.
13. Delhaize, iv., p. 296.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
15. *Les Luxembourgeois, Soldats de la France*, p. 366. Institut, lviii., Lux., 1910.

16. Delhaize, iv., p. 355. See also *Cambridge Modern History*, ix.
17. Institut, lviii., p. 267, p. 544, p. 480, p. 283. Lux.
18. Quoted, Prosper Poullet, "La Belgique et la chute de Napoléon," *Revue générale*, p. 71 (Bruxelles, 1895, Jan. and Feb.).
19. Thiers, Book XXXV., p. 108, *Hist. de l'Empire*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

1. Angeberg's *Le Congrès de Vienne*, Capefigue's Introduction, i., p. xviii.
2. See Colenbrander, H. T., *Inlijvering en Opstand*, Amsterdam, 1913, p. 309.
3. Delhaize, vi., p. 173.
4. Delplace, *Guillaume*, I., p. 12.
5. Castlereagh's *Correspondence*, 3d ser., i., p. 503.
6. Angeberg, i., p. 116.
7. Castlereagh, op. cit., p. 354 *et seq.* Lord Grenville and Paul I. also outlined a plan of union. *Ontstaan der Grondwet*, ii., p. 1.
8. Falck, Anton Reinhard, *Gedenkschriften*, pp. 135, 348. ed., H. T. Colenbrander, The Hague, 1913.
9. See Rose, J. H., *William Pitt and the Great War*, London, 1911.
10. See Falck, 142.
11. Castlereagh, *ibid.*, p. 388.
12. *Journal des conversations de l'empereur Napoléon par le Comte de las Casas*, iv., p. 240.
13. See *Le Moniteur*, March 30, 1814, *et seq.*
14. Angeberg, *Protocole de la Conférence*, i., p. 182.
15. Falck, p. 135.
16. Castlereagh, *ibid.*, ii., p. 53.
17. Angeberg, *ibid.*, p. 170.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 207. The articles are given in notes to Ch. iii. They were not made public until 1815.

19. See Schliephake, F. W. Th., *Geschichte von Nassau*, vii., p. 783, *et passim*. Also, Martens, *Recueil des traités*, Supplément, viii., pp. 99, III, and 133.
20. Gagern, Hans Christopher Ernst von, *Mein Antheil an der Politik*, 2 v., Stuttgart. 1873, p. 4, *et passim*.
21. Falck, p. 158.
22. Martens, *Recueil des traités*, Supplément, vi., p. 23.
The substance of the treaties are given in a convenient form by Hertslet—*Map of Europe*, i., p. 35, *et passim*.
23. Capefigue's Introduction, Angeberg, i., p. xxxviii.
24. Falck, p. 158.
25. Schliephake, vii., p. 795.
26. Falck, p. 367; Castlereagh, *Cor.*, ii., p. 257.
27. Castlereagh, *Cor.*, ii., p. 264.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
29. Falck, p. 161. See Angeberg, iii., p. 928.
30. Angeberg, iii., p. 952.
31. Delhaize, vi., pp. 306–307.
32. Falck, p. 162.
33. See Angeberg, iii., p. 1386. (Final Act, p. 1415 *et seq.*)
Art. LXX *et seq.* reasserted the validity of the Nassau family compacts respecting inheritance.
34. The second treaty of Paris, Nov. 12, 1815, made some changes in the Netherland frontier.
35. *Dépêches inédites de Chevalier de Gents aux hospodars de Valachie*. i., p. 168.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLT OF THE BELGIC PROVINCES, 1830

The general bases for this chapter are Falck's *Memoirs* [Gedenkschriften] and *The Rise of the Constitution* [Ontstaan der Grondwet], both edited by H. T. Colenbrander and published under the direction of the Dutch Minister of the Interior in 1908 and 1913, and other memoirs by conservative and radical participants in the events: Mérode, Nothomb, Louis de Potter, Gerlache, Raepsaet, Charles White, etc. In addition to these contemporaneous works there are the later histories of Blok, Th. Juste, Pirenne, and

other Dutch and Belgian writers, besides general French and English commentaries on the period. *L'histoire du Congrès Nationale de Belgique* is the most important of these works.

1. Falck gives the number as 12, Raepsaet as 11 deputies from each land.
2. See *Ontstaan der Grondwet*, vol. ii., *et passim*.
3. Text of eight articles:

Eight Articles accepted at The Hague, July 21, 1814, by the King of the Netherlands, but kept secret for a year. Angeberg, i., p. 209. Art. 2 was the one which aroused opposition in Belgium.

1. The union shall be intimate and complete so that the two countries shall form one and the same state ruled by the constitution already established in Holland and modified in joint accord to suit the new conditions.

2. There shall be nothing new introduced into the articles of this constitution, which assure to all creeds an equal protection and favour and guarantee the admission of all citizens to public employment and offices irrespective of their religious belief.

3. The Belgic provinces shall be suitably represented at the assembly of the States-General, whose ordinary sessions in times of peace shall be held alternately in a Holland and a Belgian city.

4. All inhabitants of the Netherlands being thus constitutionally assimilated, the different provinces shall enjoy equally all the commercial and other advantages suitable to their respective situations without any hindrance or restriction being imposed on one to the benefit of the other.

5. Immediately after the union, the provinces and the cities of Belgium shall be admitted to the commerce and navigation of the colonies on the same footing as the provinces and cities of Holland.

6. The charges ought to be common as well as the benefits, and the debts contracted before the union by the Dutch provinces on the one side and the Belgian on the other, shall be to the charge of the general treasury of the Netherlands.

7. In conformity with the same principles, the outlays required for the establishment and conservation of the fortifications on the frontier of the new State shall come from the general treasury, because the object is one which interests the surety and independence of all the provinces and of the entire nation.

8. The costs of the establishment and maintenance of the dykes shall remain to be borne by the inhabitants of the districts which are more particularly interested in this part of the public service, save the obligation of the State in general to furnish aid in case of disaster; all this will be according to the practice existing up to the present in Holland.

4. *Mémoire adressé le 8 Octobre aux Hautes Puissances assemblés dans le Congrès de Vienne* [Pamphlet preserved in N. Y. Public Library].
5. Nothomb, *Révolution Belge*, i., preface, *et passim*.
6. Gerlache, *Hist. du royaume des Pays-Bas*, ii., p. 12.
7. See Blok, *Hist. of the Netherland People*, v., p. 423.
8. Potter, L. de, *Souvenirs personnels*, ii., p. 79.
9. Nothomb, *Révolution Belge*, i., p. 118.
10. See various *Memoirs* of the period.
11. *Gedenkschriften*, pp. 311-316.

CHAPTER X

LUXEMBURG UNDER POLITICAL CHANGES

General references for Chapter IX. apply equally to Chapter X.

1. From *Journal officiel*, quoted by Nothomb, i., p. 123.
2. Gerlache, *Hist. du royaume des Pays-Bas*, i., p. 310.
3. Tandel, *Les communes Luxembourgeoises*, Institut (Arlon), i., *et seq.*
4. *Gedenkschriften*, p. 239, etc.
Falck does not agree with the general estimate of Metternich. See Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, p. 40.
5. See *De la liquidation entre les Pays-Bas et la Grand-Duché*. Servais, Institut, xxii., p. 139.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
7. Institut (Arlon), xii., p. 274.
8. *Autobiographie*. Institut (Lux.), xliii., p. 6.
9. Juste, *Le congrès national*, ii., p. 224. See Nothomb, *Révolution Belge*, i., p. 178.
10. *Ibid.*, i., p. 182. Juste, ii., p. 231.
11. *Quelques documents*, p. 7. Paris, 1918. See also *Rapport fait par le ministre des affaires étrangères*, Feb. 19, 1839. *Doc. parlementaires*, p. 85.
12. Juste, ii., p. 313.
13. *Quelques documents*, p. 25.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 26. Nothomb, ii., p. 201 *et seq.* (Juste's continuation).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 31, *et seq.*
16. Quoted, *Hist. Belge, du Luxembourg*. Pierre Nothomb, p. 262.
17. Great Britain, H. of C. Session Papers, 1839, l., p. 325.

CHAPTER XI

THE DESIGNS OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

1. See Eyschen, *Das Staatsrecht des Grossherzogthums Luxemburg*, p. 3 *et seq.* (*Handbuch des öffentlichen Rechts*, iv., 1895. Also *Aperçu chronologique . . . sous la lieutenance du Prince Henri des Pays-Bas*. L. Arendt, Institut. xxx., p. 197.)
2. Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, v., p. 437. See also Schimmelpenninck van der Oije, *Luxemburg tegen het Deutsche Verbond*, Leiden, 1885. Widung, *Der Anschluss des Grossherzogthums Luxemburgs an dem Zollsystem Preussens*, Luxemburg, 1912. Servais, *Le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, Paris, 1879. *Le Luxembourg neutre*, Paris, 1900. See also von Sybel, *The Founding of the German Empire*, iv., p. 478 *et seq.* Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*, vol. ix., pp. 102, 199; vol. x., pp. 199, 309.
3. *Diaries of the Emperor Frederick*. Ed. M. von Poschinger. Tr. by F. A. Welby, p. 45. The *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct., 1, 1888, considered that the Diaries were of doubtful authenticity.

4. *Memoirs of Count Bismarck*. Tr. by Baron Henri de Worms, E., p. 23.
5. See *Bismarck and seine Welt*, Oskar Klein-Hattungen. This is a biography treated "psychologically." Cf. *Prinz Bismarck*, Charles Lowe. See also *Le Comte de Bismarck et ses detracteurs*, Rochon, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, December, 1881, etc.

A clever and cultivated Nassau statesman, Freiherr Ludwig von Biegeleben, who cast in his lot with Austria in 1866, was an intimate friend of Baron von Gagera, the chief factor in the disposition of Luxemburg at the Vienna Congress. To him Biegeleben gave a series of sonnets in which he had voiced his anti-Bismarckian sentiments and his opinion of the methods whereby Prussia was increased at the expense of Austria and her friends. These were printed anonymously in London in 1872. Bismarck vainly tried to discover their authorship, which was, however, not revealed until 1886. The following is given in Pastor's *Leben von Freiherr Max von Gagera* (Muenchen, 1912).

The "uneasy charlatan"—*der unzufriedenen Fransmann*—refers to Louis Napoleon, who failed to get his reward.

THE ORIGINAL

Nun wohl! Da du nicht anders magst gesunden,
 Mein Vaterland, nicht anders dich entwöhnen
 Ehrsuchtgen Streits, so seien deinen Söhnen
 Geschlagen hunderttausend Todeswunden!
 Nun wohl! sie alle hat das Grab verbunden,
 Sei's ihnen leicht nach solcher Schlachten Dröhnen!
 Weh' aber, wer die Sieger wagt zu krönen,
 Denn du hast dennoch nicht das Heil gefunden.
 Weh' dir, Berlin, und deiner Lügenzunge,
 Bei Freund and Feind mit flinkem Redeschwunge—
 Belobt sie frech den bied'ren deutschen Landsmann,
 Ist Deutschland gross,—doch klein geworden
 Da sie umwarb den unzufriedenen Fransmann.

LUDWIG VON BIEGELEBEN

TO AUSTRIA AFTER HER DEFEAT BY PRUSSIA, 1866
(An Austrian Sonnet of Hate)

Ah, well! Since otherwise, there was for thee
No cure, my Country, couldst not throw aside
Thy most ambitious strife, thy sons have died
Felled by ten times ten thousand wounds. Let be,—
One grave uniteth all! To them may be
Repose; with them sweet silence doth abide,
But woe to him who shamelessly has tried
To crown the victors! 'Twas vain, yea verily,
And woe to thee, Berlin! Thy lying tongue
Base phrases over friend and foe has flung!
No gain was *his*; thou hast deceived them all,—
Beguiling thus the simple countryman
Did Germany wax great,—but meanly small
When wooing *him*, uneasy charlatan!

Note.—Anti-Prussian sentiment was, naturally, rife in the year 1866.

6. See Busch, Lowe, Servais, Wampach (*Le Luxembourg Neutre*), Rothan (*Rév. des Deux Mondes*, 1881), Abel (*Times* correspondent), contemporaneous periodical articles, etc.
7. *International Relations* (London *Times* reprint), ii., p. 198.
8. Benedetti, *Ma mission en Prusse*, p. 199.
9. See also Busch, *Tagebuchblätter*, Jan. 25, 1871.
10. Servais, p. 110.
11. Blok, *Geschiedenis*, viii., p. 188.
12. Von Sybel, vi., p. 129.
13. Quoted by Rothan.
14. *Open brief der Hollandsche Maagd*.
15. *Handelingen van de beide Kammer der Staaten-generaal*, 1866.
16. Eng. Sessional Papers, lxxiv.
17. Von Sybel, vi., p. 142.
18. *Journal officiel* (France).
19. *Annales parlementaires de Belgique*, session 1865–68.
20. Servais, p. 67, p. 113.
21. Gt. Britain, Sessional Papers, lxxiv. Protocols and articles are given in full.
22. *L'empire libéral*, 1867.
23. *Annales parlementaires*, Belgium.

CHAPTER XII

THE WARD OF THE POWERS

1. This chapter is based mainly on *l'Autobiographie* of E. Servais, Institut (Luxemburg), xlii., 1895 and *Das Staatsrecht des Grossherzogthums Luxemburg*, by Dr. Eyschen. (*Handbuch des öffentlichen Rechts*, ed. by H. Marquardsen, Freiburg, 1892.)
2. Servais said that the entry of Luxemburg into the Customs Union was like a gangrene on the finger, that might spread to the whole body.
3. *La Constitution en vigueur dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg du 17. Octobre, 1868*. Annotée par P. Ruppert, 31 Dec., 1904.
4. Great Britain, Sessional Papers. *Franco-German War*, lxxi., 1871, p. i., *et passim*.

In connection with the ostensible cause of the Franco-Prussian War, it has been frequently stated that the French objection to the candidature of Leopold of Sigmaringen Hohenzollern to the Spanish throne was peculiarly absurd as he was more closely related to the Bonapartes than to the Prussian royal family. This connection was a shadowy one. Leopold's grandmother was a stepdaughter of Caroline Bonaparte, his mother was Stephanie Beauharnais, niece of the Empress Josephine.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6, etc. See also *La France et l'Allemagne, Recueil des traités, conventions, etc.*, 1871-1872. Wampach, etc.
6. *Guillaume, III. roi du Pays-Bas*. Baron de Haulleville. *Le Correspondant*, 1890. In addition there are numerous articles in the periodicals of 1867-1872, and later.
7. See Servais and Arendt, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW DYNASTY

1. Shortly after the death of Alexander, Prince of Orange, the *Kölnische Zeitung* printed (August 4, 1884) an article taken from the *Amsterdamsche Handelsblad* hinting more definitely at German annexation of the Grand Duchy than the Rhine journal could do

without being accused of "*Annexionslust*." Luxemburg is congratulated on being exempt from the burdens of the war in Java, etc. Successive items in the German press recur to the idea. In addition to the German journals, this chapter is based on articles in *Le Correspondant*, July 10, November 25, 1917; in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 1, 1915; in *La Revue des Sciences politiques*, August 15, 1915; in *La Nouvelle Revue*, October, 1890, and in various other periodicals.

The addresses of M. Eyschen, the Regent, and the Grand Duchess at the accession of the last in 1912, are given in full in the *Annuaire officiel du Grand Duché de Luxembourg*, 1913. See bibliography for late popular works.

The next heir to Princess Juliana in Holland is the descendant of Queen Wilhelmina's aunt, Princess Sophie, who married the Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRESENT

1. In addition to the newspapers of the last four years with their meagre information see, "Les angoisses d'un Catholic Germanophile," *Le Correspondant*, April 25, 1915; "L'esprit public et la situation dans le grand-duché de Luxembourg," *ibid.*, February 25, 1915; "Luxemburg depuis l'invasion d'Allemagne," *ibid.*, November 25, 1917; *Luxemburg in War Time*, Gribble, and *La Belgique illustré*, Paris, 1911, etc.

On Sept. 11th comes the news of the fall of the coalition cabinet owing to their support of the alliance between Princess Antoinette, fourth child of the late Grand Duke, and the Crown Prince of Bavaria.

"D'LETZEBURGER," OR "DE FEIERWON"

The so-called Luxemburg national hymn was written (1859) in the grand-ducal dialect by Michael Lentz on the occasion of the opening of the first international railway system connecting the Grand Duchy with the outside world. Before then, there had been local railways only. *Feierwon* denotes the festal train, —literally the "ceremonial wagon." Antoine Zeum composed

the music. In 1871, an anonymous poet, M. *Tout-le-monde*, substituted for *We mir esö zefriede sin*, "We are contented with our fate," the words, *Mir welle jo keng Preise gin*, "We will never be Prussian." Duke Adolph was displeased with this refrain and forbade the whole song as well as the *Marseillaise*. Later another refrain was adopted that was less aggressive. There are six stanzas in all. Two are given to show the dialect, with an English version, sufficiently close to indicate the sentiment, although not literal.

De Feierwon dén as berêt
 E peift durch d'Loft a fort et gêt
 Am Däuschen iwer d'Stroz fun Eisen,
 An hie gêt stolz den Noper weisen,
 Dat mir nun och de Wé hun font,
 Zum ewég grosse Felkerbond,

Refrain:

Kommt hier aus Frankreich, Belgie, Preisen,
 Mir wellen iech ons Hemécht weisen:
 Frot dir no all Seiten hin,
 We mir esö zefriede sin.
 (Mir welle jo keng Preise gin,
 Mir welle bleiwe wat mer sin.)

Mir hale fèst un onser Scholl,
 Fu Lëft fir d'Land sin Hierzer foll;
 Wa mir och kèng millionen zielen,
 Dir get ous uochter d'Welt ze wiélen,
 Mir rufen all aus èngem Monn:
 Kê bessert Land beschéngt jo d'Sonn!

LUXEMBURG NATIONAL SONG OF THE FESTAL TRAIN

The train stands still, strong in repose—
 The whistle sounds! The engine goes!
 Now along the iron streets
 It rushes on, each neighbour greets,
 And proudly shows, we've found the way
 To union with the World today!

Refrain

Come ye from Belgium, Prussia, France,
Our Homeland view with friendly glance!
And learn how here, on every side,
No discontentment does abide!

or

Come ye from Prussia, Belgium, France,
To view our land with friendly glance
Ask the people, near and far,
"We will remain just what we are!"

We are contented with our fate,
Devoted to our native State!
Millions can it never count,
But to its people, paramount!
And we, joyous, shout as one
No better land is blessed by Sun!

Come ye from, Prussia, Belgium, France,
Our homeland view with friendly glance!
Contentment you may plainly see
And Prussian we will never be.

PRINCIPAL TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS AFFECTING LUXEMBURG

TREATY OF HESDIN. October 4, 1441.

By virtue of this, Elizabeth of Görlitz transfers to Philip of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, the Duchy of Luxemburg and the county of Chiny; she abandons all claims against him previously made on account of the estates of her two husbands, and cedes all rights in the duchy of Görlitz and Alsace, etc. He promises her an annuity of 7000 florins and the settlement of her debts. Institut, xxviii., p. 57.

TREATY OF THE PYRENEES. (Between Louis XIV. and King of Spain), 1659. Clauses affecting Luxemburg.

Art. 41. (To be left in the possession of the Most Christian King)
. . . the places of Thionville, Montmedy, and Damvillers, city and provostship of Ivoy, the castle Chavancy and its provostship and Marville in Luxembourg, their bailiwicks etc., dependencies and annexes, shall remain by the present Treaty of Peace in the possession of the Most Christian King and his successors with all the same rights of sovereignty . . . united and incorporated with the Crown of France, without reserve. . . . Vast, *Les grands traités du règne de Louis XIV.*, i., p. 116.

TRUCE OF RATISBON. August 15, 1684.

Louis XIV. was left in possession of the whole Duchy of Luxemburg, which he had conquered by force of arms. Vast, i., p. 117.

TREATY OF RYSWICK. September 20, 1697. Clauses affecting Luxemburg.

Art. V. (Shall be restored to the sovereignty of His Catholic Majesty—the King of Spain):

The city and fortress of Luxemburg in the state in which it now is, without anything being demolished, changed, or diminished,

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etc., together with the province and Duchy of Luxemburg and county of Chiny in all their integrity, with all their dependencies, etc., in good faith, to be enjoyed by the Most Catholic King just as he enjoyed it before the Treaty of Nimwegen, without anything being retained or reserved unless it had been ceded to His Most Christian Majesty by the preceding Treaty of Peace. Vast, ii., p. 215. See Bernard, ii., p. 348.

The towns mentioned in the Treaty of the Pyrenees, acquired anterior to 1659 were, therefore, left in the possession of France.

TREATY OF UTRECHT. April 11, 1713. (Between Louis XIV., King of France, and the States General of the United Provinces.)

Art. VIII. In consequence of this, His Majesty will remit to the seigneurs of the States General immediately after the Peace and, at the latest, fifteen days after the exchange of the ratifications, the Duchy, City, and Fortress of Luxemburg with the County of Chiny as also the County of Namur, etc., and all which should belong to the said Spanish Netherlands as defined above, with all as it is at present, with the fortifications unchanged, as they are at present, and with all the papers, letters, documents, and archives which concern the said Netherlands or any part thereof. Vast, iii., p. 143.

During the negotiations prior to the Treaty of Utrecht, the fate of Luxemburg was in jeopardy several times. One suggestion was incorporated in the last paragraph of Article VII (Ap. 11, 1713). "It has been agreed that there shall be reserved in the Duchy of Luxemburg, or in that of Limburg, an estate yielding a revenue of 30,000 crowns, which shall be erected into a principality in favor of the Princess des Ursins and her heirs." Vast, iii., p. 143.

The beneficiary was a woman who had exerted extraordinary influence in Spain during the early years of the Bourbon régime. Practically she had acted as prime minister to Philip V. Here was to be her reward. Bismarck was not the first to think of using Luxemburg as a means of displaying a "little inexpensive friendship." The second separate article of the treaty between Anne, Queen of Great Britain, and the King of Spain, touches more fully on the deserts of the Princess des Ursins but mentions

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Limburg "or other countries in the Netherlands" in lieu of Luxembourg. In the Treaty of Rastatt, which reinforced that of Utrecht, all mention of the Princess is omitted. *Complete History of Treaty of Utrecht*, i., pt. 2., p. 253.

Claims of the French House of Luxembourg-Montmorenci:

Nor were state claims all. While the negotiations were in progress at Utrecht, many persons seized the occasion to urge private claims as before a general court of equity. Among these was the French Duke of Luxembourg-Montmorenci. A series of documents, rehearsing the history of country and duchy of Luxembourg, showing that female rights were acknowledged only after the extinction of all males, was presented with the assertion that the title obtained by Philip of Burgundy in the fifteenth century was illegal, as taken from Elizabeth of Görlitz, a mere mortgage and that, at the death of Sigismund, the last male of the elder line, the heritage should have passed legally to the cadet line in France and that the true heirs were the descendants of Louis of Luxembourg, the last male of that line. From that last male, the heritage had been carried by his daughter, his heiress, just as Ermesinde had been to her father, to the House of Luxembourg-Montmorenci. Burgundy and the Spanish Hapsburgs were simple usurpers, and this general adjustment of frontiers was the time when the Montmorenci rights to Luxembourg should be restored. They were not recognized, however, and all that the attorney of the family, Villers, could do was to file a protest before the magistrates of the town of Utrecht, declaring that his principals refused to accept the decrees of the treaty *in re* Luxembourg. The "Burgomasters and Councillors" of Utrecht gave Villers a receipt for his document and duly filed it away in the town archives. There had been a similar attempt to obtain hearing at the negotiations of Nimwegen. See *Complete History of Treaty of Utrecht*, London, 1715; also, Vast, ii., p. 39.

TREATY OF RASTATT. March 6, 1714. (Between the Emperor Charles VI. and Louis XIV., King of France.)

Art. XIX. His Most Christian Majesty having confided to the States General of the United Provinces all that His Majesty or his allies still held in the Netherlands, commonly called Spanish, just as the late King of Spain, Charles II., possessed, or was due to

possess them, in conformity to the Treaty of Ryswick His Majesty consents that the Emperor enters into possession of the said Spanish Netherlands to enjoy them for himself and his heirs, according to the order of succession established in Austria.

NASSAU FAMILY PACT. 1783. (Des Fuerstlicher Gesamthauses Nassau im Jahre 1783 erneuerter Erbverein.)

The stadholder of the United Netherlands, William Prince of Orange and his three Nassau cousins, princes of Nassau, made a solemn renewal of the ancient pact of 1255, agreed to by *Walramus et Otto, Comites de Nassowe*. This provided for the exclusion of female heirs and the exact order of succession among the male next of kin, the inheritance passing from one branch to another in default of heirs male, with recognition of daughters only on the complete extinction of males in both lines.

There are forty-two articles in this compact which was intended for the honour of *Unse uraltes Haus Nassau*.

(At the time this pact was made there was no connection between the Duchy of Luxemburg and the Nassaus.) See Martens, *Recueil des traités*, ii., p. 405.

TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO, October 17, 1797 (26 vendemiaire, an 6).

Art. III. His Majesty, the emperor, king of Hungary and of Bohemia, renounces for himself and his successors, in favour of the French Republic all his rights and titles to the *ci-devant* Belgian provinces, known under the name of the Austrian Netherlands. The French Republic shall possess these countries in perpetuity, in all sovereignty and property with all the territorial appendages.

TREATY OF LUNÉVILLE. February 9, 1801. (Between the French Republic, the Emperor and *le corps germanique*.)

The cession of the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces to the French Republic stipulated by Article III., of the treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed herewith in the most solemn manner; so that His Imperial Majesty, for himself and his heirs, renounces all his rights and titles to the said provinces, which shall be possessed in all sovereignty and ownership, by the French Republic, with all depending territories.

NASSAU FAMILY CONVENTION, signed at Frankfort, November 26, 1813.

In anticipation of the Congress of Vienna by agreement the pact of 1783 between the Houses of Orange and of Nassau were reinforced but the new conditions required a revision of the articles. Martens, *Supplément*, viii., p. 111. See Hertslet III, p. 2054.

TREATY OF VIENNA. June 9, 1815.

Luxemburg was attached to the new kingdom of the Netherlands by a personal union and erected into a Grand Duchy. (Articles given in text, p. 258.) Angeberg iii., p. 1414. See Hertslet, i., p. 504.

A separate article was added to the Treaty of Vienna with an agreement between the King of Prussia and the Duke and Prince of Nassau providing for their partition of lands. This was signed May 31, 1815, and executed October 17, 1816. Martens, *Supplément*, viii., p. 133.

Still another was signed on March 12, 1817. See Hertslet, i., p. 504.

The allies signed another treaty at Paris, November 30, 1815, in which there were some frontier changes to the disadvantage of France, as a penalty for the Hundred Days.

TREATY OF LONDON. April 19, 1839. (Sessional papers, xlviii., London, 1831 & 1839.)

Article II. was as follows:

His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg consents that in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg the frontiers of Belgian territory shall be as they are described below;

Commencing from the frontier of France between *Rodange*, which shall remain to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and *Athus*, which shall belong to Belgium, there shall be drawn, according to the annexed map, a line which, leaving to Belgium the road from *Arlon* to *Longwy*, the town of *Arlon* with its district, and the road from *Arlon* to *Bastogne*, shall pass between *Messancy*, which shall be on the Belgian territory, and *Clemancy* which shall remain to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, terminating at *Steinfort*, which place shall also remain to the Grand Duchy.

From *Steinfort* this line shall be continued in the direction of *Eischen, Hecbus, Guirsch, Ober-Pallen, Grende, Nothomb, Parette, and Perle*, as far as *Martelange*: *Hecbus, Guirsch, Grende, Nothomb, and Parette*, being to belong to Belgium, and *Eischen, Ober-Pallen, Perlé, and Martelange*, to the Grand Duchy. From *Martelange* the said line shall follow the course of the *Sure*, the waterway (*thalweg*) of which river shall serve as the limit between the two States, as far as opposite to *Tintange*, from whence it shall be continued, as directly as possible, towards the present frontier of the Arrondissement of *Diekirch*, and shall pass between *Surret, Harlange, and Tarchamps*, which places shall be left to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and *Honville, Livarchamps, and Loutremange*, which places shall form part of the Belgian territory. Then having, in the vicinity of *Doncols and Soulez*, which shall remain to the Grand Duchy, reached the present boundary of the Arrondissement of *Diekirch*, the line in question shall follow the said boundary to the frontier of the Prussian territory. All the territories, towns, fortresses, and places situated to the west of this line, shall belong to Belgium; and all the territories, towns, fortresses, and places situated to the east of the said line, shall continue to belong to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

It is understood, that in marking out this line, and in conforming as closely as possible to the description of it given above, as well as to the delineation of it on the map, which, for the sake of greater clearness, is annexed to the present Article, the Commissioners of demarcation, mentioned in Article V., shall pay due attention to the localities, as well as to the mutual necessity for accommodation which may result therefrom.

TREATY OF LONDON. May 11, 1867. The articles are given in the text.

Important points. Rights of House of Orange-Nassau maintained. Luxemburg made a perpetually neutral state under guarantee of contracting parties.

Capital to be an open city. Prussian troops to evacuate. Fortifications demolished, Limburg to be integral part of Netherlands. See Sessional Papers, v. lxxiv. London, 1867. Hert-
slet, ii., p. 1801.

RAILWAY RIGHTS. Agreement on cession of railway to Germany by the French *Compagnie de l'Est*. June 11, 1872.

"The German Government pledges itself never to use the Luxembourg railways, for the transport of troops, arms, material of war and munitions and never to avail themselves of it during a war in which Germany may be involved, for the provisioning of troops, in any way incompatible with the neutrality of the Grand Duchy and, in general, not to admit nor to permit to be admitted any act in connection with the exploitation of the lines which is not in perfect accord with the duties incumbent on the Duchy as a neutral State!"

According to Pan-German phraseology, Prussia became the trustee of the inviolability of the neutrality of Luxembourg.

NOTE. In the midst of the war, on January 25, 1871, when awaiting the fall of Paris at Versailles, Bismarck declared that he had been right in not allowing Luxembourg to have been made a *casus belli* in 1867. Busch repeats his statement that the French might have been in Berlin instead of the Prussians at Versailles, as neither Hanover nor South Germany could have been then depended upon. Prussian public opinion would have supported a war, but that would not have compensated for the lack of readiness in other particulars. "We did not then possess the strength we have today. And moreover," was the somewhat naive continuation of the Chancellor's explanation, "the Right was not on our side. After the dissolution of the *Bund*, we had no just claim even to Rastatt and Mainz. I wanted to give it [Luxembourg] to Belgium. Thus we would have attached it to a land for which England was bound to be responsible. But I found no support." *Tagebuchblätter*, ii., p. 86.

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